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CHILD GUIDANCE

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THE CENTURY CO.
NEW YORK LONDON

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258

PRINTED IN U. S. A.

To

WILLIAM FRANK WEBSTER

SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS, MINNEAPOLIS
WHO WAS THE FIRST TO ORGANIZE A
CHILD GUIDANCE CLINIC AS AN
INTEGRAL PART OF THE SCHOOL
SYSTEM

FOREWORD

Authors, it seems to us, might well start the foreword of a book not so much with a description of what they have written, as with apologies for having written at all. Certainly it is necessary for one writing in the field of Child Psychology to explain why he felt himself entitled to take the time and energy of the press and of the reader with another volume. Many books in this field treat the problem child; many describe the possibilities of the normal child; but *that single phase in which the normal child is the problem*—in that each individual child must somehow be lead to realize his greatest potentialities—has not been adequately covered. Our experience in both public and private service has brought us in contact with parents who more and more frequently ask not only for a knowledge of the present philosophy of child behavior but also for a definite correlating of this philosophy with the practical details of child-training.

A book to be of value in this way must be built on practical experience with children from the great mid-ground called normal; and although the parent of the problem child may, we hope, be helped by this study of normal behavior and its minor deviations, it is not written primarily for the benefit of the feeble-minded nor the psychopathic-inferior child, nor for the court case nor the potential criminal but for the normal, healthy little girl who is learning her first steps in the sunshine on the green grass at the end of the block and the small boy whose smiling face looks up from his kiddy-car as one passes his gate. It is not aimed to meet the need of the one parent out of twenty whose child stands out as a social problem, but,

rather, for the parents of those nineteen others who in order to make the most of their children's lives must have sympathetic guidance and understanding.

It is with the organization of commonplace material that the person interested in child guidance must deal. It is again the old problem of the big oak of adult human behavior to be grown from the small acorn of insignificant childhood occurences. Child guidance is not so much for the purpose of curing children of behavior disorders as it is to keep well children well.

The phenomenal public interest in the behavior clinic, under whatever name, shows the groping of the parents of the country toward a more systematic study of the causes of behavior and the hope and possibility of a more successful fruition for the many hours of sacrifice and labor. As a supplement to the guidance clinic and in an effort to meet the need where no clinics exist, this book is offered. It makes no pretense to be all inclusive and, alas, can make none to invulnerability. Many books could not cover the fields undertaken in each of the chapters, nor deal adequately with them. We hope that it may be of service as a college text in child psychology and in study clubs and extension classes. It has been used in manuscript form and found adequate for this purpose. It is hoped, too, that it will stimulate the reader to the keeping of good behavior records to further reading and study, and be of practical aid in dealing with day to day problems as they arise, from birth through the years of growing up.

It is with great pleasure that we acknowledge our indebtedness, first, to the members of the staff of the Child Guidance Clinic and to the teachers of the Minneapolis Public Schools, to the parents of the children with whom we have worked, and to our classes in the Universities of Wisconsin and Minnesota and Iowa State College.

We wish to thank very specially Dr. John Anderson, director of the Institute of Child Welfare; Dr. Donald G. Patterson, professor of Psychology; Dr. Dwight E. Minnich, assistant professor of Animal Biology, for criticisms of the chapter on Original Endowment; Dr. Max Seham and Dr. Hyman S. Lippman for help on the chapters on Feeding, Excretory Functions, and Sleep; Professor and Mrs. A. C. Krey and Mrs. Marion L. Faegre for their helpful criticisms of the chapter on The Mysteries; Mrs. Sidiona Gruenberg for reading the chapter on Child Guidance; Dr. Karl S. Lashley, Institute for Juvenile Research, Chicago, and Dr. Florence Goodenough of the Institute of Child Welfare for criticism of the Trait Chart; and Miss Alice Leahy for assistance in the assembling of much of the case history material. We wish to express our gratitude also to Mr. Newton Howard Hegel, Director of Attendance, Guidance, and Administrative Research in the Minneapolis Schools, whose helpful suggestions were of great benefit to us in preparing the material for this book.

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INTRODUCTION

Those of us who through choice or fate are responsible for guiding children have at our disposal two great natural resources for the task, which are more beautifully adapted to the purpose than any other that could possibly be conceived. One is the fact that every aspect of our own childhood is imperishably preserved in memory; and the other that children have in an extraordinary degree that inherent tendency to be guided which we call suggestibility. And yet, preposterous as it seems, these two great natural resources have been drawn upon the least, not only in the methods that we work out to meet our requirements, but in the ponderous systems of education, training and discipline which society has provided. Preconceptions, theoretical considerations and concepts of the child built up through objective observations—many of them almost worthless—have been used instead. It is only within our own time that attention has been directed to the child who still lives within each of us, and, through the revival of the subjective experiences of our own childhood, there have been made available these imperishable records of first-hand experience which were present but in large part beyond our reach. And it is only within our own time that the mechanism of suggestibility has been so understood that it can be employed in practical yet scientific ways to direct the steps of children.

For the utilization of the first of these two great natural resources, we are indebted to the new direction of psychologi-

cal speculation and research that brought into prominence such dynamic factors in life as instinctive strivings and thwartings, emotions, sentiments and imaginative thinking. No other approach to the understanding of human behavior could have shown the fact and the significance of the preservation intact of the subjective experiences of childhood and their expression in many of the feelings and actions of adults. The special technique of psychoanalysis disclosed not only that these experiences are preserved but that their actual resurrection is possible. For a clearer understanding of the nature and function of suggestibility we are indebted to another type of psychological study which, however, gained impetus and widening of its field from the discoveries made in dynamic psychology.

Drawing upon these two resources which always existed but only recently became available, except through accident or good fortune, child guidance takes on a new aspect. With real experiences of the child in the child's world in which he really lives at our disposal, a flood of light is being thrown upon the things that children are really trying to do and upon the reasons for some of the otherwise inexplicable methods that they sometimes select for doing them. Those who have used this new approach are quite willing to return to the naturalists most of the methods of objective study which we borrowed from them for want of any better ones of our own.

The authors of this book have been trained both in the static psychology of the past and the dynamic psychology of the present. Both can draw upon a rich store of knowledge obtained from reading and study and upon the much richer one that arises from the discharge of practical responsibilities in diagnosis and treatment of deviations in child conduct. Out of this knowledge and experience comes a wise,

timely and useful contribution to the understanding of childhood and the management of some of its problems.

THOMAS W. SALMON
Columbia University.

CONTENTS

PART I

CHAPTER PAGE

I. CHILD GUIDANCE 3

Reorganization of theory of informal education necessary—Old theory founded on lack of knowledge of child—New formula needed by parents—Instinct not adequate for training—Philosophy of fatalism—Changed conception of character of child necessitates change in home—Value of early years—Difficulty of parents' job—Child guidance essentially family guidance—"Mental health" and its involvement in small things.

II. THE ORIGINAL ENDOWMENT 10

Various conceptions of heredity—Mendel's law—Heredity and intelligence—Criminality—Insanity—Fears—Speech defects—Inherited patterns of behavior—Instincts and emotions—Capacity of man and animals—Environmental factors—Methods of study—Analysis of the environment—The simple reflex—The conditioning of partial or total response—Chain response—Re-conditioning—Learning through muscle-tensions—Mechanism for learning without experience—Animals and this capacity—Infants and this capacity—The need for it—Its effect on behavior—What we may hope from environment.

III. LEARNING TO EAT 31

Individual reactions to breast-feeding indicative of temperamental types—Three feeding stages: infantile, intermediate and modified adult—Significance of second weaning stage from the psychological aspect—The reflex equipment for eating—Thumb-sucking as a food reflex—Sucking and feeding—Swallowing—Gagging—Regurgitating—Regularity—Conditions under which infant is fed—Poor appetite—Getting attention by refusing food—Food habits and behavior patterns—Peculiarities of feeding—Erroneous ideas, imitation, desire to dominate—Refusal of food—Dawdling over food—Tasks following meal—Attention—Eating too small amount—Anxiety

CHAPTER PAGE

states in children—Sunlight—Stress—Refusal of certain articles of food—Poor discipline—The child and the family table, length of time, quiet, manners, social graces.

IV. The Excretory Functions 56

Socializing the functions of excretion—The use of the chart—Shifting of intervals—Use of suppositories—Difficulties in second step—Use of rubber protectors—Enuresis, early training easier than correction—Excitement a factor—Play habits, diet, exercise, rest, physical conditions—Training—Sleeping states—Incorrect ideas of sex — Masturbation — Negativism — Therapy—Re-education, suggestion, reward.

V. Learning to Sleep 68

Sleep as an active rather than a passive state—Sleeping hours of infant and young child—Sleep as modified by experience—Observation during sleep—Sleeping difficulties of children, nervous tension, suggestion by adults, indigestible food minor factor, past experience, observation of sexual acts, poor training superimposed on susceptible nervous system—Need of study of child's individual needs, systematic training undertaken, selection of sleeping quarters, attitude of adults, discussion of sleepwalking in front of children, regularity of bed hour—Nap, causes of failure, remedies—Dreams, psychological valve—Success of sleep considered as indicator of satisfactory day activities.

VI. Sensory Training 79

Sensory training necessary for normal development—Difference between animal and vegetable—Distance ceptors—Sensory training and vision—Reading—Hearing—Speech—Musical tone deafness—Smell—Flavors—Touch, wet and dry, hot and cold—Muscle movement—Restraint—Time and equipment necessary for sense training—Scrap-bag—Care of own person—Equipment and room—Blights—Prohibitions—Hurry—Three R's.

VII. Learning to Walk 88

Maturation of muscle movements—Steps of learning to walk—Needs for learning to walk: structure, intelligence, and motivation—Ways of motivating—Hindrances—Stiff soled shoes, slippery floors, loose rugs—Omission of crawling stage—Anxiety over tumbles—

CHAPTER PAGE

Attitude of parents in regard to the necessity for crawling and early walking.

VIII. Learning to Talk 94

Speech learned, not inherited—Birth cry—Cries of infancy—Vowel and consonant sounds in crying—Babble period, extent and type—Speech sounds used and omitted—Echolalia—Speech hindrances—Training by conditioning the reflex—Delayed speech—Selection of nurse—Age of beginning of speech—Speaking vocabulary—Understanding vocabulary of dog—Identification vocabulary—*Word Book* list—Giving of phrases—Use of phonetics—Disorders of speech—Delayed speech—Oral inactivity—Letter-sound substitution—Stuttering (stammering).

PART II

IX. The Nursery 113

The effect of physical surroundings on the psychological life—Necessity of separate room—Family living quarters unsatisfactory for the child—Walking—Relaxing—Rate of living—Property rights—Noise—Cleanliness—Order—Arrangement and equipment of nursery—Location—Furnishing—Its attainment in crowded homes—English customs—Selection of nurse—Child's play yard—Location—Psychological security—Training equipment.

X. The Child's Calendar 125

Breaks in routine as opportunity for training—Visiting, "spending the day"—Contact with older children: Saturdays and Sundays, Sunday school, the afternoon ride, the car and the child, movies and tension, holiday parties, menus for children's parties—Christmas: excessive tension, beginning of behavior disorders, rules for Christmas guidance, distribution of toys—Meeting the child: mothers' parties, picnics, vacations, place, people—Absence from parents—Grandparents—Rainy days—Illnesses.

XI. The Mysteries 139

Birth and death equal mysteries, the child's need for information—*The mystery of birth*, "innocence" and knowledge—Early appearance of sex—Sublimation of sexual

CHAPTER PAGE

energy—Stages of the emotional development—The learning of sex-direction—Giving sex information—Correct age—Type of information—Completeness—Attitude—Sentiment—Religion—Natural sciences—Emotional attitude of giver—Sleeping arrangements—Unwholesome habits—The development of modesty—The family romance—The adopted child—*The mystery of death* equally vital to the child—Mysteries involved in living—Philosophies—Facts—Natural sciences—Fairy stories—Ghosts—Santa Claus.

XII. Learning to Adjust to the Group 164

Domination during infancy—Conflict between ego and group—The purpose of authority—Repression—Expression—Co-operation—Speech—Care of own property—"Community" duties vs. kingship—Responsibility to servants—Group service—Mothers' service intensified—Only and first children—"Practice" child—Infantile parents—Domination by infantile methods—Teasing—Parents' own group adjustment.

XIII. The Laws of Discipline 182

Discipline defined—Habit learning—Implicit obedience—Trial—Safety—Tabu—Rewards, privilege—Social approval—The chart—Punishment, pain, purpose—Three types: physical, acute psychological, prolonged psychological—Combined forms—Reasoning with—Talking with—Repentance—Inevitableness—"Clear-cutness" modifying the individual, not the act—Ignoring offenses—"I told you so"—Judging between right and wrong aspects—Threats of Divine punishment—"Developing the conscience"—Prevention, not cure, the aim—Importance of program—Avoidance of situations—Philosophy of the parents—Attainment through maturation.

XIV. Nervousness 212

Considerations in the study of nervousness—Inherited characteristics—The physical condition—Physical environment—Psychological environment—Poor discipline—Moody parents—Social pressure—Extra-school activities—Insistent training—Nagging—The homeless child—The selection of playmates—Wrong school conditions—Nervousness in infancy—After effects of illness plus poor training—Over-anxiety in parents—Unsuitable discipline and bad home conditions—"Patching" not adequate—Nervousness not "outgrown."

CHAPTER PAGE

XV. INTELLIGENCE 225

Knowledge of tests necessary in directing the child—Binet-Simon tests, how and when they were originated—Misinformation in regard to the tests—The "Intelligence Quotient"—The achievement tests—"Skipping a grade"—Vocational tests—Evaluating the tests—Testing done only by experts—The tests and the "average" child—The brilliant child—"Publicity of test results—Behavior difficulties and discrepancies between chronological and mental age—Inferior intelligence and badness not synonymous—The inferior child and the special school—Intelligence and malnutrition.

PART III

XVI. THE WRITTEN RECORD 237

The value of systematic written studies—The day by day diary—The behavior case history—The trait chart.

XVII. SELF-CONFIDENCE—AGGRESSIVENESS—SUGGESTIBILITY 242

Character traits developed in response to group-living—Self-confidence, "camouflage," timidity, approval and disapproval, perfection of conduct—Aggressiveness, both extremes unhealthy, the working norm—Suggestibility, the norm and the extremes, negative suggestibility.

XVIII. DEMONSTRATIVENESS, GREGARIOUSNESS AND SOCIAL ADEQUACY 254

Demonstrativeness, excessive need of fondling, indifference and antagonism—Gregariousness, excess normal in child—Solitariness, print fetish, compensatory day-dreams—Social adequacy, psychological weaning from family, attitude of the parent in selection of associates, the mother and the small child, "training for leadership."

XIX. ATTITUDE TOWARD FACTS AND PROPERTY 266

Truthfulness and a knowledge of facts—Confusion of facts dimly perceived—Intellectual capacity—Superstition—The "whopper"—Confession and punishment—Alibi-pressure—Property rights and the organization of the home—The youngest child—Unselfishness—Pilfering—Causative factors—Perfection.

CHAPTER PAGE

XX. MOOD, EMOTION, ATTENTION 279

Mood-type, anxiety state and training, adult "grouches" and the child optimism, mood-stability, manic depressive types, the inert child—Emotional response, type, emotional stability—Attention type, learning "on the margin," flightiness, over-centered type—Attention intensity, "feverish" types, adolescence, blasé types.

XXI. THE PERSONALITY STUDY 288

General directions for writing—Outline for study—Description of child—Family history—Medical history—Developmental history—Sensory and kinesthetic history—Psycho-biological history—Educational history.

INDEX 295

PART I

CHILD GUIDANCE

CHAPTER I

CHILD GUIDANCE

We are, as a civilization, in a transitional period, and educationally we are in a transitional state also. Formal education has realized this condition, and is busy devising a theory on the basis of which it may reorganize. But formal education is to the great mass of informal education, as the visible is to the invisible part of the iceberg. A re-shaping of the philosophy on which informal education is founded is also necessary.

The old educational viewpoint was epitomized, perhaps, in the phrase "spare the rod and spoil the child." Slowly educated people became aware that the child was quite as likely to be ruined by the use of the rod. The exponents of the old system might, indeed often did, beat and beat without in any way making the child successful. Samuel Butler in *The Way of All Flesh* describes the old technique: "When Ernest was in his second year, Theobald [his father] began to teach him to read. He began to whip him two days after he began to teach him. . . . All was done in love, anxiety, timidity, stupidity, and impatience."

The rod, deposed of its kingship as an educational panacea, was replaced by a theory of complete freedom. The theory was that, left to himself, the child would unquestionably choose to conform to the best. The "please child" resulted.

But our social organization runs counter to the primary drives of the social unit, and friction is bound to occur in the adjustment between individual desire and group necessity. There can be no such thing, apparently, as bringing up a child in a way that will always be pleasing to him.

The failing of the exponents of both of these philosophies of rearing was that they did not understand children, and without an understanding of children no adequate theory of training can be formulated. Hitherto we have tried to fit the child into our preconceived ideas of one comfortable to live with rather than into some scheme that would help him to become an efficient, and happy, social unit. This does not mean for a moment that the child will not have to conform to adults in very many respects. Adults are a large part of his environment, and as such must exist in his scheme. A "rude" child is one who is poorly adjusted. But we have failed to comprehend children's drives, the laws under which they operate, their psychological and their biological necessities, their prime objective, which is to establish themselves as units capable of adjusting to, or modifying, their environment. The greatest hurt that can be given a child is to hinder him in his adaptive capacity. He may be injured in this way by having life made too hard, or too easy, for him. The possibility of warping and ruining the life of the child may well frighten parents, for they labor under a load of responsibility. But it will help in facing the complexity of their task if they will stop long enough to organize their thinking; for they will then be able to progress toward a definite goal, instead of stumbling along a step at a time.

It has been so much easier just to love children without trying to understand them, to expect them to conform to an illy-defined pattern, and punish them when they did not succeed in doing so. Each pair of parents, selected by nature

to reproduce, but endowed with no innate ability to train a child, had to follow to the best of their abilities and modify as best they could the old formulas of their own training. Wisely dissatisfied with the result of their parents' methods for them, because they knew the weakness of the result, their only way to better it was by observing, on the surface always, the methods of neighbors and friends. The educational institutions in which these potential parents studied gave little help. It was not fair to the old school psychology to expect it to cover the field of child training; it had not been developed for that purpose. Nor, excellent as they were, did the courses in dietetics, cookery and home management offer an aid. These courses made better informed parents in general, but gave them no help in regard to knowledge of the emotional life of the child.

Nor could the parent be expected to go, by some precocious instinct, ahead of the rest of the group, in knowledge or in attitude. Society had assumed that the emotional life was a sort of "free lance," probably not trainable at all, innate, foreordained, except as it might be swept forward or backward in great moments such as religious conversions. This philosophy of fatality did not encourage the parent to try to grope his way to the light; for it assumed that there was no light. In most cases, even our homes, dedicated as they were in theory to the welfare of the child, were destructive to good training, for both in physical equipment and routine they were organized for adults. Children were admitted as "little men and women."

There was little thinking, except by a few bold leaders who were discountenanced, in terms of the hygiene of behavior. When unsatisfactory behavior occurred it was deplored, the perpetrator was punished, or the wish was breathed that the fates might have sent a better child. This person who had grown up under the ancestral roof had,

alas, gone astray, but that he might have been modified if his home had been organized as a place of training was not suspected.

With each change in our conception of the characteristics of the child comes a corresponding need for a change in our conception of the home. If the child is not just an undeveloped adult, but is, instead, a young human being in a formative state, how does the home meet his needs? Of course no one expects, or, indeed, desires, that any home should completely make itself over in conformity to some theory. Only let it be sure to march close enough to the front ranks to know its own objective, and with a sharp eye for pitfalls and unexpected turnings.

No one can foresee everything, but there are some things of which we may be fairly sure in our dealings with children. They do nothing that is accidental and they do nothing that is insignificant from the viewpoint of training. A thing as small as a grain of sand in the shoe may be a character determiner of the gravest sort. Psychological causes may be smaller still. We may be sure also that there is no simple panacea for all ills, and that the causes of behavior are often obscure because they are small and because they are nearly always multiple. It is no more the last straw that broke the camel's back than it is the first, but an aggregate of all.

The minuteness, the inevitableness and the multiplicity of causes of all behavior point at once to the earliest years as the most vital to training. It is still too often assumed that education begins at school. The emotional personality and habitual slants begin at birth; the child may be said to graduate into the schools. Parents have complained that modern life is taking their children from them. If this has been true, then the newer philosophy of child training gives them back. Children do not go untrained until school age, or until the school hour. They are being trained somehow,

somewhere, every hour of their lives, sleeping or waking. This puts the responsibility for success or failure on the parents—on both parents.

No thoughtful person fails to recognize any longer the difficulty of the job of being a parent. Taken from the viewpoint of the length of working hours alone, the job is astonishing. The difficulty of keeping a fresh viewpoint and an unwearied faith hour after hour, and perhaps year after year, is obvious. These long hours are neither desirable nor necessary except in the rarest cases. No man runs his plant by day and also acts as watchman by night. No man of sound judgment stays with his business year in and year out without a vacation; he knows his holiday is his best investment, because it gives him an opportunity to view his work and modify his aims if necessary. When families, fathers especially, become equally convinced of the desirability of holidays for mothers *away from their children,* a great step in correcting morbid emotional attitudes will have been taken. And this must mean a daily as well as a yearly period of freedom.

Because child guidance must involve itself with such questions as this, it might with greater exactitude perhaps be called family guidance. The child can never be considered apart from his environment, and the family is, or controls, the greater part of this. For the child's welfare parents must often be modified, not only in such obvious matters as holidays, but also in the more subtle things: the attitude of parent to child, or parent to parent, or even of parent to life.

Anxiety, impatience for results, over-weaning ambition, or the feeling that "my child must have or be this or that because he is my child," are attitudes that hamper the child and rob him of his chance for well-being. Each child is a new unit entitled, and obligated, to live his own life and

fulfill his own destiny; he was not created for the purpose of filling the empty life of a parent, or of living for the parent the life the latter would have chosen had circumstances permitted.

"Very well then," say parents, "if the children do not turn out well, we are to blame, no matter how earnest our endeavors." This, of course, is not true, and it is as inadequate to topple under the load as it is impossible to drop it. Society has not thought it necessary to have its members informed on this most important venture of the race, and it has encouraged a smug belief that "my children will turn out all right because they are mine." The parents are not entirely responsible who do not make a success of the training of their child, any more than they would be if they lost him through ignorance of proper feeding—if there had been no one able to help them. The parents may be the cause of the child's failure, but they are not to blame unless, in a sort of blind conceit or through inertia, they have refused whatever help is available.

In the direct shouldering of responsibility, the thoughtful parent will get little help from the average person. It is so easy to say that the child inherited a characteristic. The group at large makes a fetish of inheritance; it is the lazy man's retreat.

Whatever has been the cause of failure in bringing children to a happy and successful maturity, it is now time to organize our forces and help the child to mental and emotional health. It is not necessary to give the appalling statistics available to persuade parents that they do not want their child to fall short of being a successful human being. Good mental health is no "God-given faculty"; it is the successful adjustment of the individual to his environment. It is not a simple problem, or one to be met in the usual way. The child cannot be sent for an hour a week to "take lessons"

in mental health nor can he acquire it from discussions of its desirability. Successful adjustment is not primarily taught by word of mouth, but *by the logic of the situation.* Adjustment is pragmatic; if a *thing works* it becomes incorporated in the being who worked it. If it is socially acceptable in the broad sense, the result is good mental health; if it cannot be tolerated by society, it is bad mental health.

There is nothing "high flown" about good mental health; nothing "mental" as compared with "physical." Because the individual is not divisible, such a division is impossible. There is no entrance to, or exit from, the mind except through the body. Even such a highly symbolic attainment as organized speech must utilize the body for its learning and its use.

Education for successful emotional and habitual living begins at birth. And since it begins with birth, it deals with such commonplace things as sleeping and eating and moving and crying. It never leaves the plane of the small and the apparently insignificant, for no matter how spectacular the result, it is composed of small acts, performed day by day and moment by moment. Because it deals with commonplace material, so close to our eyes, it is necessary to break it up and hold it away from us, and examine and organize it afresh.

CHAPTER II

THE ORIGINAL ENDOWMENT

It is essential that the parent understand the original endowment of the child and how this can be modified by training. There is much misconception as to the rôle that heredity plays in determining behavior. Heredity is often thought of as a force that inevitably shapes the life of the child, do what we may. It is often said that the family tree is the all-important thing, and that the environment is a mild and often ineffectual brake on the intensity of inherited traits.

Perhaps the views of Dr. H. S. Jennings,[1] one of the leading biologists in America, may help to clarify the conception of the rôle heredity plays in development.

"What happens in any object—a piece of steel, a piece of ice, a machine, an organism—depends on the one hand upon the material of which it is composed; on the other hand upon the conditions in which it is found. Under the same conditions objects of different material behave diversely; under diverse conditions objects of the same material behave diversely. Anything whatever that happens in any object has to be accounted for by taking into consideration both these things. Neither the material constitution alone, nor the conditions alone, will account for any event whatever; it is always the combination that has to be considered.

"Organisms are like other objects in this respect; what they do or become depends both on what they are made of, and on the conditions surrounding them. The dependence on what they are originally made of we call heredity. *But no single thing that the*

[1] "Heredity and Environment," *Scientific Monthly*, September, 1924, pages 225, 230, 232, 233, 234.

organism does depends alone on heredity or alone on environment; always both have to be taken into account.[1] . . . Heredity is not the simple, hard-and-fast thing that old-fashioned Mendelism represented it. . . .

"Not only what the cell within the body shall become, but what the organism as a whole shall become, is determined not alone by the hereditary materials it contains, but also by the conditions under which those materials operate. Under diverse conditions the same set of genes will produce very diverse results. It is not true that a given set of genes must produce just one set of characters and no other. *It is not true that because an individual inherits the basis for a set of characteristics that he must have those characteristics.* In other words, it is not necessary to have a certain characteristic merely because one inherits it. It is not true that what an organism shall become is determined, foreordained, when he gets his supply of chemicals or genes in the germ cells, as the popular writers on eugenics would have us believe. The same set of genes may produce many different results, depending on the conditions under which it operates. True it is that there are limits to this; that from one set of genes under a given environment may come a result that no environment can produce from another set. But this is a matter of limitation, not of fixed and final determination; it leaves open many alternative paths. Every individual has many sets of 'innate' or 'hereditary' characters; the conditions under which he develops determine which set he shall bring forth. . . .

"Clearly, it is not necessary to have a characteristic merely because one inherits it. Or more properly, characteristics are not inherited at all; what one inherits is certain material that under certain conditions will produce a particular characteristic; if those conditions are not supplied, some other characteristic is produced.

"Some of the fruit flies inherit, in the usual Mendelian manner, an inconvenient tendency to produce supernumerary legs. But if those inheriting this are kept properly warmed, they do not produce these undesirable appendages. In the cold, only those individuals acquire the extra legs that have inherited the gene to which such are due; but even they need not do so, if conditions are right. . . .

[1] All italics in this quotation are ours.

"Beyond all other organisms, man is characterized by the possession of many sets of inherited characteristics; the decision as to which shall be produced depending on the environment. . . ."

Enthusiastic but unscientific writers on heredity have caused much confusion in the popular mind by trying to apply Mendelian laws of inheritance effective in plants and lower forms of insect and animal life to the more complex mental and physical characteristics of man. Eye color, stature perhaps, and certain types of feeble-mindedness are inherited according to the Mendelian laws. This is perhaps about as far as these laws are applicable to man.

But even though the Mendelian laws may not apply to the whole field of inheritance in man, common sense and scientific investigation show that man does inherit, according to some law, his bodily structure—his skin color, the shape of his features, and the size and shape of his bones. He inherits also a nervous system which is capable of a certain range and capacity and intensity of response. Some people by nature are slow in their movements and phlegmatic in temperament. Other people by nature are quick in their movements and nervous in temperament. Within the framework of these temperaments, however, the individual may be greatly modified by training. The nervous system is capable of a certain amount of learning. This learning capacity in the intellectual field seems to be more fixed and less modifiable than are the emotional responses; so it may be said that the degree of man's intelligence is in a general sense determined at birth.

Man inherits potentialities which enable him to master, quickly or slowly, co-ordinations such as are required for playing the piano or for the other arts. Possibly certain types of co-ordination of the eye muscles are inherited; thus some people read rapidly and some slowly. There is also a

quickness or slowness of speech which seems to be inherited. However, both the rate of reading and of speaking can be greatly modified by training.

He inherits also organic differences in the sense organs which enable him to taste, to see, or to hear well or poorly.

Mental Traits and Attributes

It may be asked whether most mental traits and characteristics are inherited in the same way that physical qualities are inherited. The answer is an emphatic no. Mental characteristics may have certain inherited backgrounds, but they require a certain type of environment in order to bring them out. Criminal tendencies are not inherited; fears are not inherited, with the exception of the fear of falling and of loud noises; speech defects, such as stuttering, are not inherited; temper tantrums are not inherited. If the child develops characteristics similar to those of his parents, it will be through training and association rather than from inheritance.

Let us assume that every individual has a thousand potential attributes, and that only a hundred of them can be brought out. Let us assume that a certain baby can be trained to be either an actor or a physicist. If he becomes an actor, he must develop the expression of his emotions and his poetic temperament. As a result of such training, he develops certain attributes and a certain type of personality. As a physicist, he has to repress his emotions. His scientific training makes him weigh and balance. The only expression of his poetic possibilities might be his speculation as to the influence of the discoveries of physics on the future of society. If he became an actor, perhaps the only expression of his scientific possibilities might be an interest and skill in working out lighting effects on the stage.

At birth the infant is found to have certain nervous patterns already laid down. The earliest pattern is that of sneezing or crying. There is present also the capacity to suck, to follow light with the eyes, to grasp, and to move the legs and arms in an unco-ordinated way. There are other nervous patterns, but these are the most important. This meagre original endowment leaves many of the attitudes, capacities, and attributes of the child unaccounted for. When such traits as honesty, acquisitiveness, curiosity, modesty, and others develop in later life, it may be asked, "Are these attributes due to instinct, or are they due to training?"

Following Dr. Watson, an instinct or an emotion may be defined as an hereditary pattern that helps the individual to make adjustments to his environment. Instinct results in action outside of the body, and emotion results in action inside the body. There is, however, no really sharp line between emotion and instinct.

The record of instincts as given by William James in his psychology years ago is still followed by many educators. James gives the following list of instincts: "Climbing, imitation, emulation, rivalry, pugnacity, anger, resentment, sympathy, hunting, fear, appropriation, acquisitiveness, kleptomania, constructiveness, play, curiosity, sociability, shyness, cleanliness, modesty, shame, love, jealousy, parental love."

In a recent book on child psychology this outworn conception of the instincts is still followed. In it is the following list of instinctive tendencies: "Curiosity, imitation, hunting, collecting, rivalry, combat, fear, display, gregariousness, achievement, play, and mating."

Instinct and emotion are merely different phases of the same thing. They cannot be separated. We find these instinct patterns well developed in the animals. The beaver,

for example, has an instinct that enables him to build a dam. The robin has an instinct to build a certain type of nest. Conceivably a robin, deprived of all of the material of which his nest is usually composed, might go ahead and utilize other material in such a way as to prepare for the laying of the eggs, but it could not and would not form judgments and intellectual comparisons between its own type of building and that of some other bird. It could not, for instance, go over to the oriole's nest, perceive that the oriole had a better type of construction for a rainy climate, return, and construct for itself a similar nest.

Man, on the other hand, utilizes any type of architectural construction according to his needs and information, because he is not bound by an instinct which lays down for him, as instinct does for the robin, the architectural blue prints of his proposed construction. This is true of all man's capacities. His very strength lies, doubtless, in the fact that he has so few of these instinctive patterns and hence a greater scope of choice. This is contrary to the popular belief that man has many instincts.

As soon as the child is born, he begins to form habits, and whatever instinctive tendencies he may have are soon overlaid and modified by habit. It is not to be denied that we find in children and adults certain well-marked tendencies which very largely determine behavior. It is our belief, however, that these tendencies are composed of instinctive tendencies, plus emotion, plus habit.

"Instincts" have been the great cloak for much of the feeble thinking in regard to the rearing of children. It is material too much used by parents as an "alibi." It is easier to say of a badly trained child, "It is a boy's instinct to be rough and noisy," than to say, "My boys have not yet learned to be quiet because I have been unsuccessful at teaching them," or "because they are too young to be quiet." It is much simpler

to say that there is an instinct for the direction of the love life of the child than to say that this very complex and tabu subject must be studied and investigated, and then the actual direction of the child's love be undertaken along the most socialized lines.

Man may not have many more capacities than the animals, but the great difference between him and the animals, which is obvious in man's adaptation of available materials and conditions to his uses, is due to the fact that the animals have instinctive compulsions under which they must—not may, but *must*—operate. Man, being freed of these for some reason or other, has a capacity for choice and for the direction of his own energy output.

The dog, for example, has all the equipment necessary for speech, including a capacity to respond to situations, but he has a pattern under the compulsion of which he either barks, whines, or growls. Man, partially freed from the necessity of using these primitive patterns of vocal response, has evolved speech with virtually the same type of mechanism which the dog has been unable to utilize.

Man's fundamental need has been for patterns that will protect him through infancy, and some of these patterns must be maintained through life. But he has needed also a *freedom from patterns,* so that he will not be hampered in the construction of a world to meet his needs.

Study of Environment

The slow sifting of the environment for the causative gold has been retarded by the willingness of scientists and of parents to hide behind the old conception of "instinctive" behavior. It is certainly safer from the standpoint of the practical necessity of modifying behavior to assume that the human being has only one instinctive drive—a sort of urge

to keep going. Whatever the exact classification may be in the actual process of training and re-training, this, it seems at least, is the only safe assumption; for it throws the whole burden of training for mental health on the environmental factors, which are after all *the only ones modifiable.*

Different nervous systems, to be sure, react in different ways to the same stimuli, but here again, in the final analysis, training is the factor on which *we may lay our hands.* In the final analysis it does not matter what there is in the way of heredity because the child is here, and its heredity is, so to speak, unavoidable. Heredity is the problem of the eugenist; the problem of the mental hygienist and of the parent is the child himself. *It is the actual human being who must be mobilized for mental hygiene.* And with the individual present, the question is not some theory of the instincts or heredity, but "What is to be done with him?"

Methods of the study of environment have not been adequate, and many of the subtle influences of the various aspects of environment have been overlooked. It has been assumed often that if the child had a home in which he received the ordinary care and if his parents were intelligent and reasonably kind, this was all that could be asked. Such a point of view overlooks the influence of the psychological environment, and the influence which the attitude of the parents may have on the child.

Not only the diversity of inherited characteristics is different in each child, but the environment of each child, even though reared in the same family, is different. Parents often say, "How can it be that of my three children two seem to get along easily and smoothly and respond to my routine, while the third child, reared in the same environment, is an entirely different proposition?" The fallacy is in considering that the environment for each child is the same.

The environment is composed of a number of elements,

the actual physical surroundings being the first and most obvious element. That may be the same for all three children, but the parents are a larger part of the environment. The neighbors constitute another large element. That rarely remains the same because the children in the other homes are growing up also, and the actual conditions in the home are changing. The servants, if there are such in the home, constitute a surprising part of the environment of the child.

The child has an environment composed of the things already described, plus his own personality. His own personality is as definite a part of it as is the personality of another individual. The child's personality influences those with whom he comes in contact and makes them act toward him in a certain way. He, himself, then, constitutes one of the elements of his own environment.

The second child has, in addition to the conditions already enumerated, the personality of the first child and the fact that he himself is the second child, the fact that he has always to compete with an older brother or sister. The actual environmental condition of the first child as against that of the second shows a very marked difference.

The third child has still another element. He has the first child plus the second child and their interplay of personalities, in addition to his own personality and his own problems. Now, with the enormous possibilities for the differences in temperament, it can readily be seen that the situation is extremely complex. If you will think back to your own childhood, if you were fortunate enough to be in a family where there were several children, and think of the enormous differences in the tastes of the various members of your household, and the fact that, in addition to this, the members were going through different cultural states—the various stages of collecting interest, of revolt against the

control of the home, of pride over school accomplishments or distress over school situations—you will readily see how complex this element is.

Think for an instant of the enormous determining value of small incidents in your life; what it meant possibly to have some particular visitor come into your home at a certain time, and how differently this must have affected the different children in the family at their respective stages and cultural levels.

A young woman of fairly well known attainments in the art world lays the entire responsibility for the direction of her life to a happy accident that selected the place for her summer holiday one year. There were four children in the family, and it was the custom of the parents to send each of them to a separate place for a few weeks each summer.

This child was the youngest. The others were sent to relatives, but she was taken by two young women, who were friends of the family, to stay with their father in the country. This father, a charming, simple, old gentleman, was extremely fond of gardening. He had a tendency and capacity so common in gardeners of the best type for proselyting everyone who came into his circle, and this little girl of six was included for three weeks in the intimate life of the plant form and construction, the bloom periods and the seed periods of the various flowers of an old perennial garden. The effect of this experience never left her, and her art form, which was interior decorating, developed out of the experience of these three weeks.

If such an incident can modify the direction of a talent in an individual, how incorrect it is for us to think of any two individuals as living under exactly the same environment! The smallest incident in the life of a child may give a complete, new turn or direction to his capacities and interests.

The Simple Reflex

In order to understand how the organism can build up complex forms of behavior, it is necessary to understand and to keep continually in mind the unit of behavior—the simple reflex—and the steps of its development into more complex forms. The nervous system is so constituted that, when stimulated, a part or the whole of the body moves automatically for the service or protection of the organism. Thus at the sight and smell of food the stomach begins to secrete gastric juice for the service of digestion, or on the exposal of the eye to intense light the pupil contracts or the lid closes. These movements occur without the conscious intervention of the individual. The animal organism is very richly endowed with such protective patterns of behavior.

The Conditioned Response

Out of this type of simple reflex behavior are developed more and more complex forms by the process which is known as "conditioning." The classic example is that of a dog utilized experimentally by Pavlov. The dog was shown food, and responded to the sight with a flow of gastric juice. The next time food was displayed a bell was rung. This process was repeated a number of times. Finally, the food was omitted but the bell was rung, and the flow of the gastric juice occurred just the same, through the association which had been built up by the ringing of the bell when the food was offered.

A young woman was accustomed to turning on the light in an office where the work necessitated a mercury light of great intensity. Automatically (or reflexly) her eyes closed with the flare of light that followed the turning of the switch. On one occasion the lights in this room had been

disconnected without her knowledge, but when she turned the switch her eyes automatically closed, although this time no light resulted. The closing of the eyes had become conditioned to the turning of the switch, rather than to the light.

Similar processes are built up in all of us, continually, both by intention and by force of circumstances. When the process is intentional, we call it discipline or education; and we are aware of it as a factor with which we must deal in the education of the child.

A child caught his thumb in the door of an automobile as it was slammed shut. Thereafter, at the sound of slamming doors, he became conscious of his thumb and grasped it with his hand. By accident he had become painfully conditioned to this sound. A girl of fourteen who habitually picked at her face until it was unsightly wished to have herself broken of the habit. A blow on the fleshy part of her arm as she reached for her face caused her to withdraw her hand. After three such experiences, her hand would reflexly stop in its way to her face even when the blow was not given.

The fact that such reflexes can be brought about is the basis of most effective physical punishment of young children. A light blow on the hand, as the child reaches for something which he may not have, conditions the hand so that it withdraws itself thereafter as it approaches the forbidden object. This conditioning may last forever, or it may become weaker and finally vanish if the desire for the object becomes strong enough to counteract it.

Conditioning is always accompanied with an emotional tone, either of pleasure or pain, in some degree or form. This is, of course, true of all activity. But it must be remembered especially in connection with conditioning the response of the child, because the emotional type and mood type are

built up of many such isolated and often seemingly insignificant occurrences.

A horse crossing an unsteady bridge is frightened. Thereafter he may be afraid of all bridges. If he is young enough, or the fear strong enough, his mood may, from that time on, be fearful; the shyness and anxiety built up at such a moment may persist and carry over into other situations.

A girl of six who had been repeatedly warned not to bring unexpected guests home for luncheon forgot the admonition until she had seated her friend at the table. Her nurse scolded her in the presence of the guest, until her anxiety was very pronounced. On that occasion macaroni and cheese was served for luncheon. Always thereafter, she experienced a sharp sensation of anxiety at the odor of toasted cheese. Many food dislikes are built up in such a way, as are food preferences by pleasant conditioning. To many adults, ice cream is a dish that gives pleasure mainly because of the conditioning received at parties in childhood.

A man who usually smoked a pipe smoked cigars on such special occasions as holidays and Sundays. His sons were consequently pleasantly conditioned to the odor of cigar smoke. Even when they were grown men, it could still produce in them a feeling of holiday mood.

This capacity for developing a conditioned response is valuable to the child, since it is his chief medium for the development of systems of habit that determine his more complex behavior. It is unfortunate that this very valuable technique of learning is usually left to the direction of chance, and operates oftenest without either the desire or the knowledge of the parent.

Different individuals vary according to their nervous systems and also in their capacity to modify a response once formed. But effective education consists, to a great degree, in wise conditioning of the responses of the individual, so

that he may develop not only the salutary responses themselves, but also the habitual emotional tone that results in a serviceable type of mood.

The Chain of Conditioned Responses

The foregoing examples of the conditioned response show it in its simplest and most direct form. It must not, however, be thought of as limited to two or three steps. It is often the basis of an almost endless chain of emotional response.

In an experimental study of a dog, the task was undertaken of conditioning him so that he would not enter a certain room. The room selected could be entered only through a door composed of square panes of glass, with a strip of wood about twelve inches at the bottom. This door was kept closed, and the young dog was not allowed to follow anyone who passed through it. Many times during the day he would walk up to it, but was restrained from entering the room by the glass and the piece of wood. After about three months the door was opened, but a board approximately twelve inches high was placed across the opening. As the dog was about eighteen inches tall at the shoulders he could easily have gone over this, but instead he would walk up to it and stand as though still restrained by the presence of the glass. At the end of a month the board was removed and a heavy piece of tape substituted. He would walk up to this in the same way, although he could have gone either over or under it. Subsequently the tape was lowered to within two inches of the floor, and then replaced by a very slight string, but at this point, unfortunately, the experiment had to be abandoned. The experimenter had hoped to see whether a heavily painted line on the floor could be made to serve as a restraint. It had been shown possible, however, to condition the dog's response through these six steps.

The same type of conditioning occurs in human beings as in the lower animals.

A girl of three had the most profound affection and trust in her grandfather, a venerable gentleman with a long beard. After his death and during an illness of the child's, a physician was sent for. She was much disturbed at the prospect of his visit, but her fear subsided at once when he was described to her as a bearded man. Her anxiety was later aroused by the idea of going to school, but on seeing the beard of the principal, it was appeased. Throughout her life, her feeling of security was strong in the presence of men whose faces were unshaven. As an adult she deplored the custom of shaving which she condemned as effete and decadent, without being conscious that her preference for beards was founded on her childhood affection for her grandfather.

Re-conditioning the Response

If our attitudes may be thus influenced without our consent or, indeed, our knowledge, it is inevitable that a great part of education must consist not only in the desirable conditioning of responses, but also in the re-conditioning of those that have been formed which are detrimental to the welfare of the individual.

In this connection we cannot do better than to give an exact quotation from Dr. Watson in regard to the conditioning of a child eighteen months old who developed a marked fear of goldfish in a glass bowl. He says:[1]

"The child, the moment he sees the fish bowl, says 'Bite.' No matter how rapid his walk, he checks his step the moment he comes within seven or eight feet of the fish bowl. If I lift him by force and place him in front of the bowl, he cries and tries to break away

[1] *Archives of Neurology and Psychiatry*, February, 1926, page 202.

and run. . . . No advocate of reasoning can remove it [this fear] by telling the child all about beautiful fishes, how they move and live and have their being. As long as the fish is not present, you can by this verbal organization get the child to say 'Nice fish, fish won't bite'; but show him the fish and the old reaction returns. Try another method. Let his brother, aged four, who has no fear of fish, come up to the bowl and put his hands in the bowl and catch the fish. No amount of watching a fearless child play with these harmless animals will remove the fear from the toddler. Try shaming him, making a scapegoat of him. Your methods are equally futile. Let us try, however, this simple method. Get a table ten or twelve feet long. At one end of the table place the child at meal time, move the fish bowl to the extreme other end of the table and cover it. Just as soon as the meal is placed in front of him remove the cover from the bowl. If disturbance occurs, extend your table and put the bowl still farther away, so far away that no disturbance occurs. Eating takes place normally, nor is digestion interfered with. The next day repeat the procedure but move the bowl a little nearer. In four or five such sessions the bowl can be brought right up to the food tray without causing the slightest bit of disturbance. Then take a small glass dish, fill it with water and put one of the fish in it. This may cause disturbance at first. If so, move the dish back and at subsequent meal times bring it nearer and nearer to him. Again in three or four days the small glass dish can be put on the tray along side of his milk. The old fear has been trained out, unconditioning has taken place, and this unconditioning is permanent . . ."

This illustration is of great value to parents and should be considered especially in two respects. First, "will-power" on the part of the child was not only inadequate, but was not a factor in any sense of the word, and yet in the re-education of the child it is a point usually much stressed by parents. Second, argument and explanation were equally futile. The cure depended on a knowledge of the process which the child was undergoing, and the patience of the parent with the slow re-conditioning of the response.

Learning through Muscle-Tensions

Of equal value with the conditioned response in the education of the child is his capacity to learn from the muscle-tensions of an individual his attitude toward a given object. This capacity is shown very early in infancy, and, indeed, seems to account for much behavior which is usually thought of as "inherited." This is especially true with regard to fears and to likes and dislikes exhibited at an early age.

Just what capacity in the individual person enables him to "translate" the attitudes of those around him, can be only somewhat vaguely postulated, although the process itself is fairly plain. To illustrate, an infant of a few months, lying in the mother's arms, showed signs of restlessness and anxiety and wept silently when the mother became disturbed by a reference in the conversation. An older child showed anxiety (shyness) when the mother was perturbed by the presence of a stranger at the door.

In such situations there seems to be some direct method for the translation of attitudes, without the necessity for experiencing them.

As a working premise, only, it may be assumed that, through vision or direct contact, a mimetic capacity in the individual is stimulated, and that he then takes in his own muscles the postures and tensions of the person observed or felt, and translates them in terms of glandular activity. The fact that a fear state would not, at an early age, be verbally organized as such, does not detract from its validity as a fear state, nor change the bodily reactions to fear.

The conclusion should not be drawn that, since attitudes and fear states can be thus transferred to the muscular and nervous system of the child, all fear states are to be avoided. Excessive and obsessive and unreasonable fears should be

avoided, if possible, or the child should be removed from the immediate environment of the individual so afflicted, at least during an attack, but this capacity for learning attitudes is too valuable to be thwarted, even if that were possible.

To have a true conception of the infant, we must lay aside, temporarily, our ideas of the stability of our civilization, and realize that the young of the human species labors under a necessity for an adaptive capacity of great flexibility. To the nervous system of man, evolved through countless generations, the prolonged and protected infancy of our present civilization is a mere incident. When we consider the child in this way, the value to him of such a mechanism for learning the attitudes of those around him becomes evident.

Animals possess this capacity for "guessing" feelings and attitudes in even a more obvious way. People who drive horses know that if the driver begins to feel fearful of some approaching situation, *even before the horse could be conscious of the situation,* he will begin to react to the driver's fear. This transfer of fear is not a case of telepathy but of the change in the tensions of the driver, transferred along the reins. This capacity would be invaluable in the lives of all animals for the learning of fears and, hence, for the preservation of the individual. It would, obviously, be impossible for every animal, human or otherwise, to experience all of the dangerous situations of life.

There is no reason to believe that man would be less well endowed with this capacity than the lower animals, nor that he would need it any the less, and it seems reasonable to believe that the attitudes and feelings of those around us must have some method of reaching our minds, both through the touch and the eye. The operation of this capacity is a commonplace experience in the case of adult human beings also.

Two people may be sitting together in a room. If one of them becomes frightened by some noise, he assumes an atti-

tude expressive of his feelings even though he may wish to conceal them. The other person in the room looks at the one who is afraid, perceives his muscle-tensions, assumes those tensions himself, and translates what he feels in terms of his experience with dangerous occurrences.

The mother of a sick baby often cannot care for it so well as some more disinterested person, because the child "senses" the tensions and anxiety of the mother and is distressed by them.

This profound capacity for the learning of fears is very important from the standpoint of mental hygiene. There has been, in the not very distant past, almost a cult built up around the idea that fear is unhealthy from the standpoint of mental health. To fear unwisely is destructive, but to fear wisely is the best of mental hygiene.

The child is fully three years of age before he can comprehend speech in the abstract way that would be necessary for the learning of things that he had not experienced. If the infant were left without this muscle-tension mechanism during his first three years, only the greatest care could keep him from being annihilated.

The child who is trained to fear automobiles, to fear deep water, to fear fire, to fear falls of great distance, will be the child who will live to hand on his capacity to the next generation. The majority of these fears are learned from the attitudes and the actual muscle-tensions of adults.

The muscle reading capacity is put to a practical use in the unintentional training given by the group, to the individual, involving the question of group tabus. Each civilization, each group inside each civilization, and each family or smaller group inside the larger group has its tabus, its small customs, things which may be done or not done, may be said, or not said. These things are "learned by example and not by precept." Whether a woman may meet the eyes of a

stranger upon the street, whether one may mention, in public, certain physical functions, what one's attitude should be toward an older person at home—these things are rarely discussed, rarely explained by the adult in the environment, partly because they have been given to the adult himself as wordless learning, as tabus rather than definite learning problems, and partly because they are controlled rather by what we think of as the *nicety* of a given situation than by any real law.

What may and may not be mentioned, what is and is not socially acceptable—these things constitute an enormous learning problem for the child, especially the first five years of his existence. By the time the child is three years of age, in fact by the time he can talk, his vocabulary of tensions or attitudes toward things is very large. His personality and character have been largely formed, not through the influence of his physical inheritance so much as through the influence of his environment.

The attitudes, viewpoints, and fears of the parent, and the attitudes and viewpoints of his associates, make up this social inheritance, which has as much influence in the lives of people as has physical heredity. The attitudes of parents toward life, their optimism or pessimism, their fears, doubts, and prejudices, their amount of self-control, the pitch of their voices, the way in which they give commands, the way in which they enforce discipline, their strength or weakness of character—all of these things give rise to muscle-tension in the child, so that he responds in the likeness of those people with whom he associates.

The future of our children is, to a large extent, in our hands. The profound changes that may be accomplished by training, by education, and by the modification of the environment have never yet been thoroughly tested. We have not yet learned to analyze the environment carefully

enough. It must be analyzed so as to bring out the subtle pressures and attitudes which make for success or failure. When this is done, then we can modify children in a way that has not been thought possible.

We cannot do better than to quote again Dr. H. S. Jennings:[1]

"To be able to know beforehand from the characteristics of the parents what will be the characteristics of the offspring has long been one of the dreams of science; but, to paraphrase the words of the poet, 'now we know that we never can know' how to do that, in man,—for the characteristics of the parent do not determine what combination of characters will appear in the offspring. . . .

"It is a fact that may come as a hope and comfort to parents whose own lives have not gone as they wished, and who wonder if heredity condemns their children to the same failure as themselves. A mother, the father of whose children had shown fatal weaknesses, asked me if I believed there was anything in heredity: what she meant to ask was whether her boys must be like their father. There is no one on earth that can predict what combination of qualities will come from the union of any two normal individuals, and there never will be. 'Who toiled a slave may come anew a prince' in the next generation,—by the working out of recombinations in heredity. However unworthy we may feel ourselves to be, we can always hope for our children—with hopes based upon the knowledge that science gives. Knowledge of these open possibilities must inspire our efforts to help our children unfold what is in them; and must lend an interest to their progress that any false belief in a set and iron law of inheritance would crush out. The literally inexhaustible variety of possibilities offered by nature realizes for practical purposes the ideal of freedom of the will; realizes in effect the dream that there are unlimited possibilities for any individual."

[1] Jennings, Watson, Meyer, and Thomas, *Suggestions of Modern Science Concerning Education*, The Macmillan Co., 1918, page 13.

CHAPTER III

LEARNING TO EAT

THERE is a great difference in the way in which infants react to the necessity of taking the breast. Some babies take it at once, avidly; some take it calmly; some are trained to take the breast only with great difficulty. Some few refuse to nurse at all, but these infants usually have defective nervous systems and are "sloughed off" by the processes of nature, unless they are fed by the elaborate methods made possible by modern science.

Disinclination to feeding may be due to a poor milk supply in the mother's breasts or to physical anomalies of the breasts. Sometimes a nervous child nurses poorly because of the anxiety of the mother or nurse. In general it may be assumed that the manner in which the infant takes the breast is due to the type of nervous system with which he is endowed rather than to external causes. One is led to this conclusion not only through the study of infants[1] but also through the study of the early life of adolescents suffering from emotional difficulties.

The early feeding response is fairly indicative of the type of general response to be expected of the child in most of his activities, and it is one of the earliest clues to his personality type and to his type of original endowment.

The child may be studied at this earliest stage with a view

[1] Margaret Gray Blanton, "The Behavior of the Human Infant during the First Thirty Days of Life," *Psychological Review*, Vol. XXIV, No. 6, November, 1917.

to modifying as much as is necessary and possible his general temperament.

Considered from the psychological standpoint, there are three stages in learning to eat: the infantile, intermediate, and modified adult.

These three diet periods are, of course, not clear-cut. They overlap, and with the introduction of new foods one diet period merges into the other.

During *the infantile stage,* the infant sucks from the bottle or the breast. Under normal conditions he has nothing at first but the mother's milk. Most pediatricians enlarge the child's diet, at about three months of age, by giving orange juice, tomato juice, sometimes prune juice, and cod liver oil.

The weaning period from the infantile to the *intermediate stage* occurs usually when the baby is from eight to ten months old. This intermediate stage has not previously been considered as a definite period. By the time the child is a year old, he should be in the second stage.

Whether it is a period of actual weaning from the bottle or not, it certainly must be a period of diet enlargement. Cereals, mashed potatoes, scraped beef, eggs, toast, and also such vegetables as carrots and spinach are now introduced. This is a very important period in the child's life because "food peculiarities" are often developed at this time.

Often infants who adapt themselves to the *diet* of this period refuse to adapt themselves to its *customs.* They will take their milk or their water from only a bottle. This capriciousness sometimes continues far into the adult stage. Children even four or five years old sometimes refuse to eat with an implement other than a spoon, or will refuse to feed themselves at all. These are the beginning symptoms of a behavior difficulty.

By the end of two years the child should be on a *modified*

adult diet. Of course, there are many highly seasoned foods, and beverages such as tea and coffee, that the child should not have, but from the psychological standpoint his diet is that of an adult. He should sit at a table and eat the suitable semi-solid and solid foods that the adults eat. He should try to eat with a fork, and spoon, and drink out of a cup. The child should be permitted no "food peculiarities" other than those imposed by his years. There are, of course, occasional individuals who cannot eat certain foods. Eggs may rarely cause a breaking out of the skin. Strawberries and shellfish sometimes cause skin eruptions. But until it has been clearly proved that a certain food is harmful, the child should not be permitted to refuse it.

The transitional or weaning period from the intermediate to the modified adult diet is of much greater importance than it first appears. Owing to the danger of possible diet diseases in the first weaning stage, the tremendous psychological dangers of the second weaning stage have been overlooked. This weaning comes normally at a period of great psychological stress, and unless it is handled with skill may easily become a focal point for the retention of infantilisms. Adults are very commonly met who have never weaned themselves entirely from the intermediate dietetic stage. They insist on most of their foods being semi-solid. They cannot eat a hard-boiled egg; it must be soft-boiled. They cannot eat stale bread; it must be soft.

Often they say they cannot swallow cellulose. They chew their food, and if there is the least particle that cannot be completely masticated, they remove it. A man came to our attention some time ago who could not even eat peas without gathering all the little hulls together and taking them out of his mouth. He thought he was unable to eat the tiny particles of cellulose in them. He also refused to eat the cellulose

in pineapple and asparagus, so necessary to give bulk for the digestive tract, and would carefully remove it. Such an individual has refused to become adult in this department of life.

Many adults feel anxiety at the presence of certain foods. To them, strange foods and flavors present themselves as strange situations possibly fraught with danger. Sour, bitter, and strange flavors, olives, salad dressings, or any food foreign to the usual child diet, often throw these people into something approximating a panic.

Certain reactions of the child which may occur in each or all of the food stages should be studied. The infant is endowed by nature with certain very definite reflex activities with which to meet the need of food. Such are: the turning of the head in response to a touch on the skin area surrounding the mouth; sucking; swallowing; regurgitating under some circumstances when stimulated by the presence of foreign material in the back of the mouth. The feeding habits of the infant are also influenced by conditioned reflexes and by muscle-tensions as outlined in the previous chapter.

The reflex which makes the infant turn his head if touched on the area near the mouth is very serviceable in helping him to find the mother's breast. In the second period, the mother, when feeding the child, often inadvertently touches the side of his mouth with the spoon. The resultant movement of the baby's head is frequently so marked that his mouth goes beyond the spoon, or it may go in the opposite direction, just as the nursing infant when hungry turns his head from side to side seeking the breast. This movement is often interpreted by parents as turning away from or showing dislike of the food, whereas it may indicate a desire for and not an aversion to it. The baby is only following the old reflex pattern.

Thumb-Sucking

There is another aspect of the infant's utilization of this reflex which must be considered. The baby lying in his crib will indulge in many apparently random movements of the legs and arms. If in the course of such movements the thumb or fingers touch the highly sensitized area around the mouth, the lips quickly catch the digit and hold it. During periods of hunger or if the diet is unsatisfactory, the thumb quickly goes to the mouth and a form of gustatory satisfaction follows. This is usually considered a "bad habit" and some sort of apparatus is often used in an effort to "break the habit."

It is our belief that such treatment is irrational, as can be shown by a review of the circumstances. Thumb-sucking is established as a habit in response to hunger, or to a sensation caused by over-feeding and mistaken for hunger by the infant, or because of an unsatisfactory diet. It is at its worst when the stomach is empty or over-full, and in cases of even relatively slight under-nutrition or even the mildest rickets *it may become chronic.* The malformation of the upper jaw, with the slow pressure being exerted by erupting teeth, causes a desire on the child's part for the counter pressure which comes from the presence of a thumb or fingers and the sucking stimulated by them.

It has been fairly well established by the latest research that rickets exists to a greater or lesser degree in nearly all Northern reared children, even those who are breast-fed, unless cod liver oil is given and active use is made of the sun's rays in tanning.

We feel that it can safely be assumed that there is some fault in the metabolism of the child or some anomaly of bone and cartilage about the mouth in those cases in which thumb-sucking (or finger-sucking) is present after meals, and that

the thumb-sucking may better be considered *as a symptom* of some such anomaly than as a bad habit.

In nearly all infants and young children there is a tendency to suck the thumb or fingers when sleepy. This one can afford to ignore, unless it is carried beyond the third year. It is a normal infantile form of gratification.

Since thumb and finger-sucking must be considered as an indication of the appetite or the state of metabolism of the child, mechanical restraint such as elbow cuffs or aluminum mitts, or pinning the sleeve to the bed, should not be employed. The remedy lies in diet and sunshine.

To return to the study of the reflex movement in the intermediate diet stage: the infant has only one method of caring for his food after it is in the mouth, that is, the sucking-swallowing movement. Therefore, when the food is placed on the tip of his tongue, he tries to suck and the food may be forced out. This again is often misinterpreted by the parent as a refusal of food or as indication of dislike. This difficulty may often be overcome by placing the food on the back part of the tongue. At this stage, a baby often gets his mouth full of food, but the swallowing reflex, for some reason, does not operate. When an attempt is made to put more food in his mouth, it gets on the tip of the tongue and the sucking reflex forces it out. This difficulty may be overcome by giving a sip of milk or water; sometimes by quickly tilting the baby back and letting gravity assist.

Occasionally, in an effort to get the food well back in the mouth, the throat may be touched in such a way as to start the gagging reflexes, and the child regurgitates. Gagging and vomiting are common in infants, and should not be an occasion for anxiety under these circumstances.

When regurgitation occurs at the introduction of new or strange foods, it is more significant, as the child may develop a distaste for new foods in general. It must then be thought

of as a method of avoiding unpleasantness, and by no means be permitted to succeed. A great deal depends on the attitude and calmness of the mother or nurse in meeting such situations. After an interval of quiet and a drink of water and a few soothing words, another effort should be made to have the child take a very small quantity of the food, and when this is retained, the child's attention should be diverted. If this technique is invariably followed the custom of regurgitating unwanted foods does not become established; under no circumstances must the child be allowed to form habits of refusing needful foods.

Of course if the child has a definite illness such as would necessitate a change in the normal diet, he should be under the care of a physician who should very carefully direct the procedure of the parent.

Primitive man did not feed himself according to the clock. Food was not always available, and his mode of living probably made it impossible for him to have regular eating hours. And though civilized man has found it more hygienic to take his meals at regular intervals, the baby comes into the world with a stomach as undisciplined to regularity as was the stomach of primitive man. It takes the first few years of life to accustom him to taking food at regular intervals. Civilization introduces many elements not natural to the organism, and due allowance must be made for these in the training of the child. For instance, from the actions of the average baby, it is quite clear that he is not always hungry at his feeding time. During illnesses, his appetite may desert him, and yet he must eat a stated amount of food at regular intervals. At such times he may develop a technique for the avoidance of future unwanted feedings. The commonest of methods, aside from regurgitation, is the simple act of closing the mouth and refusing to open it. Under such circumstances one should study the child and get at the cause of the

lack of appetite. Often it becomes necessary to force the feeding, and in such cases it is well to hold the nose for a moment until the mouth is opened, and then insert a small spoonful of food.

If the infant spews out the food, sometimes a slight slap on the mouth the instant the act is committed is effective. This usually results in tears, but the child can be with relatively little pain broken of this habit.

The conditions under which the infant is fed are important. At an early age he may not, apparently, take notice of his surroundings, but his reactions are nevertheless affected by them.

The room in which the baby is being fed should be quiet, and there should be no audience to "watch baby eat." One child refused to eat when the dog was in the room. If he came in she would turn her head, following him around the room with her eyes, keeping the food in her mouth, but refusing to swallow. It was only when the dog was excluded that she would eat properly.

Another baby would not eat when the grandmother came into the room. She would look at her grandmother and coo and squeal and then spit out the food. This constituted a sort of game with her grandmother, and was of more interest to her than eating. Such small things seem hardly worth mentioning, and yet they often determine the eating habits of a person for life. A young child should not eat with older people, as he notices the anxiety and dislike of the parent or adult for strange foods, and consequently is likely to assume the same attitude. The narrowing of the diet is the least of the harm done by such an attitude. Teaching the child to eat the food before him and to accept new foods without protest is splendid training for ease of adjustment in other situations.

Care should be taken to have the child's food appetizing;

it should not be too hot or too cold, too thick or too watery. *Flavors should be kept separate;* the common practice of mixing all the foods together is ill-advised. In feeding the child any new food, it is well to begin with only a teaspoonful at a time. After three or four days, one may give a teaspoonful and a half, and at the end of a week two teaspoonfuls. The amount should not be increased too rapidly.

One of the significant things about the process of learning to eat is that the infant has the sole attention of the person who is feeding him. If the parent does not insist firmly that the baby pay attention to his eating, he may make a play of his meal and prolong it for an hour or more. The cooing and the babbling of the baby and the spitting out of his food and the grimacing sometimes appeal to the young mother, who responds by laughing, and the baby thinks the whole thing is a sort of game. It is essential that the mother insist that the baby attend to his eating until the meal is finished.

Often, when the appetite is poor or the child has been unwell, he has to be coaxed, petted, cajoled, and urged to continue his feeding in order to empty the bottle or the breast. As a result he develops a method, perhaps subconsciously, whereby he gets attention by refusing his food; and unless he is very hungry, he is apt to resort to this procedure to get this attention. Even babies as young as seven or eight months will stop their feeding and smile and coo, thus developing some slight tendency to get attention by not taking their food quickly and adequately at the regular feeding hours. But if they are being fed alone in a room with an adult trained to meet this situation, and are not permitted to dominate in this way, the problem need not become an acute one.

It must be kept in mind by parents that, important as these feeding periods are from the standpoint of physical health, they are just as important to mental health. The

feeding period is very nearly the only period of active training of the young child. The way in which he learns to accept his diet constitutes the establishment of one of the patterns of behavior which will in later life apply to acts other than eating. The child who is allowed to become finicky about his food is likely to be finicky about other things.

In dealing with the child who habitually refuses to take some special article of diet, all food should be taken away. Then a fresh supply of the same food should be served again, alone, and nothing more should be said about it. If the child persists in refusing it, liquids should also be taken away from him, but in that case he must be allowed water when he finally eats the food.

The necessity for such drastic methods is, however, an admission on the part of the parent of failure to maintain the confidence and co-operation of the child, and should not be resorted to until a general tightening up of discipline and training all along the line has been accomplished. Any change in the attitude or intention on the part of the parent should be talked over with the child, and the reasons for the new rules explained. If it still becomes necessary to have a "show down," the child should first be examined by the family physician and his interest and consent obtained, as he alone can tell whether this method is suitable in the individual case. We have so far considered mainly the establishment of habitual types of food behavior. In these early stages the behavior is relatively easily studied. Food peculiarities and variations in older children and in adults are more complex, although they usually have the common trait of having been acquired in early childhood.

Likes and dislikes in diet may be due to erroneous ideas on the part of the child, arising from misunderstandings. A woman of thirty was thrown into a nervous panic by the sight of chicken being served at the table. She could not

tolerate chicken in any form, and she could not bear to see others eat it. This peculiarity was eventually traced to a time when as a young child she had seen a dead chicken lying in an alley-way, and had been told by a joking adult that it was the chicken that was going to be served at dinner that night. At dinner the idea had, of course, not been corrected, and she had assumed that members of the family were serving and eating the chicken she had seen several hours before. The result was a revulsion against all chicken. Much later in life she learned how chicken was handled before being cooked, but this knowledge did not change her reaction.

Food peculiarities may be due to imitation. The learning of food likes and dislikes is so important that the child should not be subjected to the attitude and training of adults who are themselves incorrectly trained. The fact that a person is intelligent and well trained in general does not insure him against lack of insight in regard to his food habits.

A very well informed and intelligent mother said, of her infant, that he ate everything except cream of wheat, and she could quite understand his dislike of cream of wheat because she, herself, did not like it. When we asked her if she did not feel that the child's dislike could be accounted for as having been learned from her, she said, "Oh, no, the baby is only eighteen months old, and I have never told him that I dislike it." This obvious error in reasoning on her part was due to the fact that it had not occurred to her that a child of eighteen months learns more through the muscles than through speech, and that it was not necessary for her to have told him that she did not like cream of wheat, because he had already learned it through her muscle-tensions.

The majority of adults do not frankly say, "I do not like spinach," or "I do not like peas," or "I do not like meat." They are more inclined to say, "Spinach does not agree with me," or "Peas do not agree with me," or "Meats do not agree

with me." This is a pernicious habit, for often the child comes to think of his stomach as a fragile and delicate organ. In this way a marked anxiety concerning health is often developed, and the child is taught to attribute to physical causes many things which properly come in the field of psychological adjustment and emotional attitudes.

Domination of the parents by the infant is another reason for "food peculiarities." It is not uncommon to see children at an early age dictate what their diet shall be. Many mothers become alarmed at any deviation in the child's diet or appetite and show their anxiety to the child. In this way, he becomes conscious of a method of getting his way and of dominating his environment. He insists on retaining the psychological attitude that he had during the first and second periods, when, because of his infancy, it was necessary for the mother to give him her complete attention.

One boy who came to our attention had, at the age of six months, begun to refuse all foods except baked potatoes. On baked potatoes, with the addition of butter and milk, he had lived for nearly five years. He had declined meat and all green vegetables. He had had, in addition to baked potatoes, a certain amount of jelly. Because of his restricted diet, this child had rickets, and, as is often true in such cases, his speech was very indistinct and infantile.

Adults who have not weaned themselves from the second stage are not uncommon. A certain college girl thought she had an ulcer of the stomach, although her physicians had made repeated examinations and found no evidence of organic disorder. While she was fairly free of distressing symptoms much of the time, yet when any situation arose that required additional effort, she was likely to be seized with severe attacks of vomiting and headache. She had concluded therefore that stress of any sort, added to her already weakened condition, brought on these attacks.

This girl's history revealed the following facts: Her secondary diet stage had been unusually prolonged. At the age of six she was still eating only gruel, milk, scraped beef, soft-boiled eggs, and scraped fruits. Her father ill-advisedly decided to give her a lesson in eating whatever was put before her, on the day that she began to go to school; her nervous condition was such that she was unable to retain the food.

The habit of regurgitating under trying situations grew during her entire period of adolescence. The other symptoms of faintness and headache naturally accompanied the vomiting. This habit, begun at a time of tension, later became an unserviceable and unwholesome behavior-pattern, a definite illness of the psyche and not of the stomach. A re-education of the emotional life enabled this girl to take her place as a serviceable member of society.

It will be helpful to classify the chief food difficulties and discuss them independently of the food stages. The four types most frequently met with are: (1) refusal or almost complete refusal of food; (2) dawdling over the food; (3) eating too small an amount of food; and (4) refusal of certain articles of food, and accompanying this, often, a finickiness about the way food is prepared and served.

(1) *Refusal or almost complete refusal* of food is not infrequent in nervous infants. For an interesting example we are indebted to Dr. H. S. Lippman, Department of Pediatrics, University of Minnesota.

The mother was a college graduate, who had specialized in bacteriology and was familiar with the principles of physical hygiene, and who was very anxious that her baby should be reared according to the laws of health. She worried a great deal about the child. At about eight months of age, he began to take his food poorly; he would nurse for a while, and then turn his head away and refuse to continue. At the age of

twelve months he was refusing food almost altogether. The mother was very much frightened. She was unable to carry out the suggestions given her concerning the feeding, because she felt that there was something physically wrong with the child. Because she felt that he was ill, she could not bring herself to be firm and to insist on his eating.

Finally the child was taken from the mother and placed in the hands of a calm, well-trained nurse, and in a week his eating was entirely normal.

At the end of the week the mother went to the home where the child was, and at the feeding hour took him and started to give him his food. He ate for a few minutes and then turned away and refused to continue. The nurse then took the child, and he finished the feeding without any reluctance.

It may be asked, "Just what was the difficulty here?" The child was not ill, and the refusal of food could not be attributed to any physical condition. The cause was entirely psychological. The worry and anxiety of the mother had been perceived by the child, probably through the muscle tensions of the mother, and the refusal of food was the response, so that a habit had been established. When the mother was convinced that there was nothing physically wrong with the child, she was able to control her nervousness, and was then able to make him take food in a normal way.

Many physicians who specialize in the diseases of children believe that the refusal of food, where there is no physical difficulty, is caused by the attitude of the parent or the nurse. Anxiety or tumult in the home, or a lack of calm firmness in feeding, is likely to cause the child to eat poorly or to refuse his food altogether.

(2) *Dawdling over food.* Children vary greatly in the rapidity with which they eat, and a considerable variation is possible within the limits of health. Some eat their meals in twenty-five or thirty minutes, while others may take thirty

to forty minutes. It is wise to allow a reasonable amount of freedom in the length of the meal-time.

It is not uncommon to find children of four or five years of age who take an hour or more to eat their meals. This, of course, is an unreasonable length of time. The average child should eat his meals within thirty or forty minutes. We might add that parents often spend the first six or seven years of a child's life urging him to eat fast, and the next seven years urging him to eat slowly.

The food should be appetizing, and should be daintily served, and the portions should not be too large. It is helpful to divide the meal into three or four courses, so that the child will have only a small amount of food in front of him at one time. It is well to arrange the courses so that he may look forward to the end of the meal for some food which he especially desires. In this way he can be stimulated, often, to eat the small portions in each course, in order to have his dessert. The meal should not be made unduly important by elaborate "dressing up" of the food.

Dawdling is a symptom, and the cause is to be found in a study of the child's whole routine. Children may dawdle over their breakfast because they do not like to go to school. They often dawdle over their meals because the day offers nothing alluring. Often the finish of a meal means merely that the child is to go to some disagreeable task.

One parent had a routine whereby after breakfast, before the child could go out to play, he had to pick up his toys and arrange his playroom. This might be all right with a child of nine or ten years of age, but with a child of three or four or five, it is not wise. A child cannot be expected to look forward very far into the future. His rewards must be immediate. At this age it is well to say to him, "As soon as you get through eating, you can go out and play." When he does go out to play, it should be arranged that he have some-

one to play with. A morning's play in a cold, lonesome yard or park is not an adequate inducement to promptness.

Elizabeth, aged five years, is an illustration of how far a child may carry this dawdling habit. It sometimes took her two hours to eat her meals. The mother said, "I 'm wondering whether I 'm neglecting my baby, one year old, because it sometimes takes me two hours to get Elizabeth to eat her breakfast."

Elizabeth was the first grandchild in the family, and she had been alternately bossed and petted by three grandparents, two aunts, and her mother and father. Sometimes she was allowed to do exactly as she pleased; then again she was surrounded by all sorts of nagging restrictions. She had to pick up her toys; she had to keep her dress clean; she had to wash her hands frequently. Her days were made unhappy. She could not look forward with certainty to a morning of free play with other children, and as a result of this treatment, Elizabeth became very negative and dawdled over her food. By putting her in a nursery school, having her play with other children, and giving her firm and consistent discipline and more play outlets, the child's whole attitude was changed. It was not difficult then to get her to eat her meals in a reasonable length of time.

(3) *Eating too small amounts of food.* Often when life is too hard for children, they find relief by going off into a world of imagination. This was the case with Paul, a boy ten years of age with a very superior mind, and a wonderful imagination. The father was a successful professional man who had no patience with anyone who did not, as he said, "keep his feet on the ground." His interest was in the concrete facts of life. He could not understand why people should talk about abstractions and be interested in ideas rather than things. Because of the difference in temperaments, there was very little understanding between the

father and the son. The father wanted the boy to exercise—to skate, to play football and baseball. The boy preferred to model figures in clay, to make elaborate houses and to lay out landscape gardens in the sand. He seemed to have a great interest in art, especially in architecture and landscape gardening.

One day Paul's father found him with his sled and wagon taken to pieces, trying to build a house. Instead of encouraging the boy's constructive ability, the father was so angry about the destruction of the toy that he scolded him and made him spend the rest of the day putting his sled and wagon together again.

Paul's sister was a vivacious child of the practical type. Although two years younger than Paul, she was physically stronger than he. She took pleasure in bossing him, and oftentimes she would urge the other boys to attack him just for the fun of it. Paul was always beaten in these fights, but he never complained.

Paul's mother loved him, but she did not understand him. Because of the family attitude, the boy was unable to find a normal, successful, happy outlet for his life; consequently he turned more and more into the world of imagination. He acted very much like the proverbial absent-minded college professor. He would come to the table in a day-dream. He would eat what was on the plate in front of him, and when that was finished he would get up and wander off and pick up a piece of paper and turn and twist it into a house or castle. When he was reproved for leaving the table, he would say, "Oh, I beg your pardon," and come back and eat whatever else was placed on his plate as though he did not see or taste it.

The boy's food difficulty was merely an indication of a more serious condition. When the situation was discussed with the father, he realized that something should be done.

He began to associate more with the boy, won his confidence, and was able to encourage him to play rather than to day-dream. Paul learned to skate; he joined the Junior Boy Scout organization and became interested in this type of activity. He was taught boxing, so that when the boys attacked him he could defend himself, and he thus gained self-confidence. At school he was given a position as monitor, which carried with it a certain amount of authority and influence, and this had a remarkable effect in making him more social. He made more friends in a few months than he had made in the two years he had been at school. This adjustment of the boy's whole existence was necessary in order to change his attitude, not only towards eating but towards life in general. Incidentally, his appetite improved, and he ate his food promptly and in satisfactory amounts.

Nervous, sensitive children very often develop finicky appetites in the middle of the winter, owing partly to the strain of school and partly to the fact that they do not get enough exercise and unfiltered sunlight. Care should be taken that they get sufficient exercise in cold weather. Children properly wrapped can be allowed to play outdoors even in zero weather with great benefit. Their appetites will be improved not only by the exercise, but by exposing them to the direct sunlight. Or, if it is not possible to get enough sunlight outdoors, they can be treated with certain lights whose rays approximate those of the sun.

A thorough study of the child's home conditions and of the school environment is necessary in order to ascertain whether there are stresses and mental conflicts that interfere with the child's appetite and physical development.

(4) *Refusal of certain articles of food,* and accompanying this, often a finickiness about the way food is prepared and served, is probably the most common of all the food difficulties in children. This attitude is often assumed as a means of

attracting attention. In many homes the meal-time is the battle hour. The child is urged to eat this or that particular type of food because the doctor said so, because the mother will feel sad if he does not, or because he promised mother that he would; or father insists that the child eat his food, or he will "use the razor strop."

No child can be expected to eat in a normal manner under such conditions as these. The first thing necessary is to make him realize that he must eat the food that is put in front of him without any argument or discussion.

This conviction must be given by the general attitude of the parents and by the consistency and effectiveness of their discipline. As far as is possible the battle of obedience should be fought out away from the table, and in such a way that the lesson will hold over.

Whatever the method of discipline used, it is essential that the child realize that the parent means to go through with it. If he feels that there is the slightest weakening on the part of the parent, *any plan will fail.*

Children show most absurd capriciousness about food. A little girl of six could not eat her food if there was any gravy on her bread. It made her sick. This child was full of morbid fears and was developing a marked anxiety state. By using a chart whereby she got stars for eating, without protest, food that was placed in front of her, and by changing the family attitude from one of nervous, nagging anxiety to one of calm, quiet confidence, she was taught within a short time to eat normally.

Children will resort to all sorts of devices to keep from eating food. One of the most common is to vomit the food. The following two cases show how this tendency may be met:

Alfred was a healthy boy seven years old. He was the youngest of four children, there being ten years' difference between himself and the next older child. As a result of

this difference in age, he was treated almost like an only child. The consistent discipline that the mother had used with the other three children was lacking in the case of Alfred. He would not eat spinach, carrots, peas, beans, sweet potatoes, cabbage, or tomatoes. He liked bread, butter, milk, eggs, and meat. The mother asked advice as to how to teach Alfred to eat the vegetables. She was told to wait until a given moment just before bedtime, and then to tell Alfred of her visit to the clinic, and to explain to him why he should eat vegetables; and to add in a firm but somewhat casual tone in order not to arouse his negative impulses,

"And so it has been decided that you should eat your vegetable first, before you have your other food. But we have had so many arguments about it that we are not going to have any more. If you don't eat your vegetable, there will be nothing else to eat; you will just go hungry. And at the next meal some more of the same thing will be there in front of you again." She was advised not to give too large a serving and to give not more than two new vegetables a week.

Two months later the mother reported that the boy was eating all the vegetables that he once refused. But this did not occur without one struggle. After the mother had insisted that Alfred eat his vegetables, he acquiesced obediently for several weeks. He ate spinach, carrots, peas, and beans—not with any great relish, it is true, but still he ate them. One night they had cabbage and boiled beef for supper. Alfred was given a small amount of cabbage.

He said, "Mother, I can't eat this."

She replied, "Well, try."

He replied, "If I eat it, I am sure I will vomit."

"Well, try anyhow."

He ate the cabbage, and sure enough could not retain it.

The mother then said, in a quiet tone, "You had better go to bed."

The next morning Alfred got up early and asked for his play suit. The mother replied, "You can't have your play suit because you could not eat your supper. You will have to stay in bed today."

Alfred replied, "I can eat now."

"All right, if you eat your breakfast, you can go out to play."

When Alfred came down to breakfast, there was a small amount of cabbage on his plate. He ate the cabbage, finished the rest of his breakfast, and went out to play. At the present time there is practically none of the ordinary vegetables that he does not eat.

William, aged six, used regurgitation as a means of dominating his parents. He did not like orange juice, and when his mother insisted on his taking it, he would regurgitate it. The mother was a nervous, anxious woman, and too much of her attention was concentrated on William, who was an only child. He felt his mother's attitude, and tried to get what he wanted by saying, "If you make me do this, I won't eat; if you make me do that, I won't eat." He used his eating as a method of threatening his mother. If she made him go to school when he did not want to, he would regurgitate his breakfast.

The mother seemed incapable of handling the situation, so we urged her to place the boy with his aunt, who was a calm, firm woman with several children of her own. She was instructed to assume that William would eat the food that was placed in front of him, but if he did regurgitate his breakfast, he was to be given the same kind of food again, not only once, but several times, provided it was obvious that he was not being injured by the process.

The second morning he was with his aunt, he refused to take his orange juice. His aunt insisted. He took his orange juice and regurgitated it. The aunt laid out several oranges on the table and said, "Now, William, if you lose the juice of one orange, we'll keep on trying until you keep it down." Six times he took his orange juice, and six times it came up. The seventh time he kept it down. During the summer there was no more regurgitating of orange juice or other food. When he came back to his mother in September, he began to regurgitate again, but not so frequently as before. At the present time the mother has been able to modify her attitude so much that the boy does not regurgitate his food at all.

Up to the eighth or ninth year, it is best for the child not to eat the majority of his meals with the family. A child and an adult normally take a different length of time for eating, and they find a different amount and kind of pleasure in their food. When a child is at the table with his elders, it is not uncommon to expect him to sit and see food that is denied him consumed by others. No matter how complete his boredom, he is usually expected to sit quietly through the entire meal. Many of the bad manners and the tantrums that occur at the table are due to these two factors.

We have long ceased to believe that a child should sit an hour in school without moving, or three-quarters or one-half of an hour; yet we expect this at the table. It is too much to ask a child to restrain his movements for such a long time. To require children, therefore, to sit with adults and accept the adults' rate of eating, to watch the adult dally over a special food which to him is delectable, to sit through the conversation of parents often without saying anything or getting any attention, is destructive of good discipline.

During childhood, table manners are in the process of being learned. The child is slowly being taught to chew, and to handle his own glass, knife, and fork. He should sit in a chair which is correctly adjusted as to height. Accidents which involve spilling and the pushing of food off the plate should not occur at the family table, because the great amount of attention that these accidents attract is detrimental to the child's ease of learning. When he is eating alone, these occurrences can be given the correct amount of attention, or when it is best, can be ignored.

A child cannot possibly have perfect table manners before the beginning of adolescence. It is not likely that he will have perfect ones then. Few adults have perfect manners, but the child, up to the fifth or sixth year, is distinctly in the process of learning. It inhibits and actually retards learning processes to make unwise comments and criticisms of a performance. If a dancer or a public speaker is adversely criticized at an early stage, he may get what we call "stage-fright." Many people suffer from something similar at the table. This is often demonstrated at a luncheon or dinner where elaborate equipment is used. Adults who know how to handle implements, who know the choice of forks and such details, make errors and awkward movements because they are suffering from what might be called "table-fright." Children in the learning stage must inevitably suffer from this in a much more marked and pronounced way than adults.

Women who do their own housework often do not realize that it is actually more convenient to feed the children before the family sits down to the table. A small table for the children can be arranged in the kitchen, and a little festival made of the meal. For instance, the old red checked tablecloths, which to the adult eye are somewhat offensive, are very attractive to children, as are the many gayly colored oilcloths.

When the presence of servants in the kitchen makes this plan undesirable, other arrangements are easily made—a side-table in the dining-room or breakfast alcove, or even a table in the child's own room. This latter scheme works especially well, because it reduces the opportunities for interruptions by adults.

The child's meal hour should not be looked on as an opportunity for a lesson in eating only. The mother should take this occasion to demonstrate to the child—by example, not by precept—some of the social graces requiring tact and skill. At least one meal a day should be made a "party," with the child specially cleaned and dressed and on his best behavior. If the mother is, by happy chance, a gracious, witty person, interested in her child's attitude and viewpoint, the hour may be a very pleasant one indeed, and one which in after years will be cherished in the memory of both. When the father is at home, or at least during week-ends, he can stay with the children in the nursery at this time in place of the mother. This gives the father and the children a chance to become better acquainted.

When the adults sit down to their own table, they are then free to eat the food that is suitable to them. They will not think continually that the child's desire is being aroused by the sight and odor of foods which he is not permitted to eat. They are also free to discuss the many things that are not suitable for the ears of the young child, and to continue their own discussions without thinking of the necessity for bringing the child into the conversation—a thing which should be done if he is permitted to eat at the family table.

From the point of view of the parents, it certainly seems that the adults of the family who have worked all day are entitled to sit down for the enjoyment of an evening meal with quiet comfort. It does not contribute to the enjoyment of the meal hour to have it become an endurance test or a

training period in manners. This is what usually happens if the children are at the general table. It has been our feeling that all children profit by being removed from the family dinner table. To such an extent do we feel this to be true that we recommend it wherever possible.

During the hour when the parents are eating, the children should be assigned to a certain room to play. For the first few weeks the parents may find themselves leaving the table a number of times; but if the room is suitably arrayed and equipped for safe play, the sounds that issue from it should be ignored.

When the child does come to the table, it should be as a privilege, and he should be on his best behavior. He should then be required to behave as much like an adult as possible. Such occasions must not occur with frequency during the formative period.

CHAPTER IV

THE EXCRETORY FUNCTIONS

The socializing of the excretory functions is one of the most difficult lessons that the child has to learn. Habits of cleanliness do not come naturally. Every parent realizes this, and the child is trained, whether consciously or not, by the various indications of social opinion and by the actual conditions under which he lives.

The socializing of these functions is absolutely vital. The poor training given in this field is many times the cause of much trouble during not only the first five or even ten years of childhood, but often in later life. The parent who wishes to assist in the formation of good habits is much handicapped by the fact that there have been very few systematic observations of the normal behavior of healthy children. Perhaps the best way to learn how to teach the control of this function in a child is to undertake the task of "house-breaking" a dog. The experience acquired in this way will show the parent what the problem is.

It is obvious that the excretory habits cannot be suppressed like objectionable habits. There must be direction instead.

The first thing to be done in the training of the child is to make a chart, and, after making close observations, to record the cycle of his excretory functions as already established. A record should also be made of the exact stimulus and conditions under which the child's bladder and bowels function. It will be observed, in the handling of a young baby, that the insertion of the clinical thermometer in the

anus will cause an action of the bowels. It will also be observed that the putting of a cool diaper or pad on a young child will often cause the emptying of the bladder. The relation of sleep to the formation of these habits should also be charted—whether the infant naturally empties the bladder immediately after, or before, or during a nap is important.

Infant E, seven months of age, was put on a "chair" at one hour intervals except during the nap periods. This was begun at seven-twenty as charting showed that a bowel action was normal between seven-thirty and eight o'clock.

This was done regularly for ten days, and at the end of that period it was observed that she had both bowel and bladder evacuation at these intervals. She was kept on the chair only five minutes, and she was *left alone in the room* without playthings. If anyone was present, even if the dog or the cat was in the room, her attention was diverted and the bowels did not move.

On the eleventh day she changed her bowel movement interval, following a change in feeding time; therefore the schedule for the chair was shifted.

During this period, and for many months, there were also wet diapers, but these were reduced from fourteen to six a day, and during the twelfth month to five. One of these was a night-time action.

Diet is a large factor, of course, in the establishment of these habits. Cod liver oil acts as a cathartic of varying potency in different children.

It is advisable in some cases to use suppositories when the child is first put into the chair. It is our feeling that suppositories should be used with great discretion; that the infant establish adequate bowel function is first in importance; that this function be socialized is, after all, secondary in importance.

But teaching the child to use the chair is only the first step. Teaching him to refrain from functioning except on the chair is a later step.

By fourteen months he should begin to develop consciousness of the problem himself, the use of rubber protecting garments should be discontinued, except on special occasions, and knit drawers should be substituted for diapers. *The parent must, however, guard against the development of too great a sense of shame.* A mishap should be treated in a casual and kindly way, for excessive shaming is apt to cause too violent a reaction in the child. A young child, under two, should not be expected to remain dry during long drives or shopping expeditions. At one year the bladder empties itself every thirty to forty-five minutes except at night when the interval may be either short or at three hour intervals. It rarely continues all night without emptying itself. There are other definite elements that enter into this situation.

In early infancy, the nervous apparatus by which the bladder is emptied is not under the direction of the will but by the end of two and a half, or at most three, years, the normal child should control his bladder at night. The automatic emptying of the bladder in the daytime after twelve or fifteen months or the automatic emptying of the bladder at night after two and a half or three years is called enuresis.

Enuresis

The problems involved in enuresis are very complex. There may be a great many causative factors. It is, therefore, not always an easy condition to treat.

The commonest form is nocturnal enuresis. This occurs only during sleep. When it occurs beyond the age of three, it usually means one of three things: an organic difficulty,

failure in training, or some neurotic or emotional disability.

It is, of course, obvious that unless the child is properly trained he will not gain control of his bladder until far beyond the usual time. Children are often seen in institutions who are not properly trained and who have enuresis until the age of four, five, or six. Sometimes illness of the parents, or illness of the brothers and sisters, makes it impossible for the parent to give the child training at the right time; so the habit of enuresis becomes fixed and it is difficult to overcome. It is therefore very important that the child be trained early to control his bladder during both the day and night.

The nervous system of some children is so sensitive that it probably responds unusually keenly to the stimuli from the bladder, and so it is more difficult for such children to resist the desire to urinate. In such cases accidental emptying oftens happens. It is necessary with such nervous children to look after their training throughout the day in order to eradicate the enuresis at night. Playing with them just before they go to bed or getting them excited very often leads to enuresis. Romps rather late at night, with a great deal of giggling, laughing, and gayety, excite the child sometimes in such a way as to lighten his sleep and make it generally troubled.

Excitement in *any form* induces a certain amount of excitement in the entire body. For instance, a game which is apparently of an intellectual nature such as a guessing game, or laughing, or playing, or even talking, may stimulate all of the functions of the body—the excretions and the appetite. Pleasant occurrences, such as the receiving of a present, may also stimulate the entire body. Caresses very definitely stimulate all of the glands of the body and this must be considered in establishing a cycle which has to do with the nervous system in the way that the excretory functions have.

This is especially true when we consider the subject of enuresis.

High tension is one of the most fundamental causes of nocturnal enuresis—too keen a competition with other children, too much "training" along all sorts of lines, too much learning and reciting of rhymes, and too much singing of songs for the approval of the elders, too much being the "center of attention" generally.

The diet of such children must be carefully regulated. This is necessary in every case of enuresis, but in nervous children it is doubly necessary. It is well to put the child on a very concentrated diet for a few weeks and restrict liquids. The diet should consist of butter, bread, cereals with cream and sugar, potatoes, meat, eggs, and a small amount of bulky vegetables (such as spinach, peas, beans, and carrots). Only one glass of milk should be allowed a day. There should be four feedings: at 7.00, 12.00, 3.00, and 5.30. No liquid whatever should be given between meals or after 5.30. No soups should be given. The child should be taken up about nine or ten o'clock at night and placed on the toilet.

In nervous children, it is very important that their daily routine be very carefully regulated as regards exercise and rest. They should have free play with other children, but it is well that they should not play with large groups. They should have a daily nap and rest periods during the day. It is very helpful to send these children to a nursery school if possible, because there the public opinion among children helps the process of socialization in the overcoming of the habit of daytime enuresis.

Physical conditions may frequently be the cause of enuresis. Children who have been free of it for a year or two very often develop it after an acute illness. The child's nervous system is still imperfect and hence especially susceptible to disease, and an illness very often interferes with

the bladder control. It is very necessary in such cases that any physical abnormalities be remedied and that there be no local irritation. If the foreskin in the male is so tight that it cannot be retracted, it is well to have a circumcision performed, but not otherwise. Sometimes the disturbance of the balance of the endocrine glands or the glands of internal secretion, especially the thyroid or pituitary glands, seems to play a part in causing enuresis. Many other physical conditions which play a part in causing enuresis will probably be discovered with more investigation.

If nocturnal enuresis occurs with any frequency, the first step is a physical examination by a competent child specialist. The examination should consist of a thorough study of the child, his dietetic vagaries, and emotional life. His water intake and the possibility of a diabetic disorder and bladder infection, or local irritation, or acid urine, should be considered. There should also be an examination of his physical environment, the type of bed in which he sleeps, the actual conditions under which he sleeps, to be sure that his rest is adequate and comfortable.

After the physical examination has been completed there should be a thorough review of his training. There is, for instance, one fairly common habit among parents that is probably accountable for a great number of the cases of enuresis that come into the physician's office. Children are often waked out of a sound sleep and put on the toilet in a half sleeping state. This is establishing the very habit which one wishes to break up, as it is in these in-between states, between deep sleep and waking, that enuresis usually occurs.

One of the most common causes of trouble is lack of sex information of the correct sort. This nearly always means that the child has acquired incorrect sex information. The possibility of masturbation in the case of older children, or excessive caressing by the parents or by other adults, must be

considered. Sometimes enuresis seems to take the place of active masturbation. It may be said that the same principles apply here as for poor sleep in general. You may look to the day as holding the causes for the trouble at night.

The psychological factors are probably the most important in causing enuresis. It is quite often an expression of a profound negativism on the part of the child. Again it seems to be an unconscious means by which the child tries to get attention and dominate his surroundings. The following three cases are illustrative:

Mary, six years of age, had violent outbursts of temper and was so extremely negative that when she was asked to do one thing she did the opposite. She had enuresis almost every night. She was free of it from the age of three to four, and then the enuresis started again and continued until she was six years of age.

Mary's mother had very high ideals, and she was trying to make Mary live up to standards which were beyond her years. She corrected her almost constantly. The mother's voice was high-pitched and sharp. She would sometimes scold for ten minutes or more for something which would be much better left alone. An example of the child's negativism is gathered from the following conversation:

Mary: "Mother, I 'll go to the store and get some bread."
Mother: "All right."
Mary: "Do I have to wear a coat?"
Mother: "Yes, put on that one on the chair."
Mary: "I don't want to wear any coat."
Mother: "You will have to. It 's cold outside."
Mary: "It 's *not*."
Mother: "Other people on the street have coats on."
Mary: "They don't."

Mother: "Well, there are Tom and John out in the yard, and they have coats on, and besides you have a cold."

Mary: "They don't have to wear coats, I tell you. I won't wear my coat."

The enuresis in this case seemed to be an expression of the child's negativism. By changing the home routine and getting the mother to modify her attitude, the enuresis stopped in three weeks, and a year later it has not returned.

Bob was a very intelligent, well set up boy, twelve years of age. Enuresis had persisted ever since he was an infant. Bob was the eldest child and received a great deal of unwise attention from both his mother and his father. The mother devoted her whole life to him until the next child came when Bob was three years of age. Bob was extremely self-centered. He insisted on having his own way on all occasions. He bullied his brothers and sisters. He insisted on being in the limelight, both at home and at school. Medication, appeals, threats, whippings, regulation of liquids and the diet had all been used to overcome the bed-wetting with no success. For a period the child was taken up four times each night by his mother or father, but even then the bed would usually be wet. There was a marked antagonism between Bob and his brother seven years of age. The situation in the home was so difficult that we advised that Bob be sent to a private school.

The first month that he was at the private school, he wet the bed a half dozen times, but this was ignored. At the beginning of the second month, the master informed Bob that if he continued to wet the bed he would have to sleep out of the dormitory in a special room, and besides he would have to wash the sheets when they were soiled. The enuresis persisted and Bob was placed in a special room in

another cottage out of the dormitory, and whenever the sheets were soiled he had to wash them and hang them out on the line. The other boys witnessed Bob doing this, but nothing was said about it, nor was he teased by the other boys. One month of this treatment was enough to overcome the habit. Enuresis has not occurred during the last eight months.

A case in which enuresis seemed to be a substitute for masturbation was that of George, aged nine years. George had very superior intelligence. He was an only child and received a great deal of attention at home. He was not allowed to play freely with other boys, and was unwisely restricted in many ways. He was not given any sex instruction. He began to masturbate rather freely when he was five years old, and the parents became very much worried. They talked to him about it; they punished him, and the father slept with him in order to watch him. This treatment stopped the masturbation. About the time the masturbation was noticed, George began to wet the bed. He did this almost every night for four years. Because of the formation of the boy's body, it was thought that there was something wrong with the gland of internal secretion at the base of the brain, called the pituitary gland. He was given treatment for this by a specialist, but no benefit resulted.

The parents were advised to give the boy sex instruction, to give him more free play, to send him out to a camp for the summer, to give him a concentrated diet, and to restrict liquids. As a result of this treatment, the enuresis was overcome in about two months. It has not returned now after a period of a year.

After the usual physical examination has been made and after removal of too much water from the diet at bedtime or the removal of the excessive stimuli, such as plays and games, special story telling, the use of the radio, the automobile, or whatever particular thing seems to be involved,

then certain definite training may be given to help remedy the situation.

Suggestion is the most potent of these remedies, but it should usually be given by a good psychotherapist, or by the parents under his direction. It is very difficult to give because of the ease with which negative suggestion slips in. A parent who had said in the office that she would be very glad to give her child suggestions, turned and said at parting, in the presence of the child, "But, after all, I expect it has a physical basis and I don't think we will get much from suggestion." She had, right then, nullified in advance any suggestion which she might later give. She had also given the child a good alibi of a physical disability.

One of the most effective devices for the usual mild case of this sort is for the physician to write or have typed on a card, preferably a rather official looking card, a few words to the effect that the child will wake when he feels the desire or necessity to urinate. The card is given to the child and placed by him under his pillow at night. The parent reads the card to the child or the child reads it, just before going to sleep. If this does not work the first night, it may afterward. The effect of such suggestions is usually somewhat delayed.

This is a situation in which a reward for good behavior is excellent. A reward has the great advantage of proving to the child and to the parents that *such a condition is helped by pyschological measures and by a real unconscious wish to control it.* The reward system may be kept up until the child himself is thoroughly convinced that the habit can be stopped, but it must be borne in mind that this function is not under the control of the conscious mind, that during sleep the unconscious or subconscious mind takes over the control of these functions. Very often the desire to empty the bladder is followed by a dream that the bladder has been

emptied, and during this dream the action takes place, much to the child's distress when he has awakened. The same type of training that makes an older person waken to catch a train can help the child to awaken in order to go to the toilet.

The treatment with regard to "waking" enuresis is much the same. Of course, there are several added factors. A child who is too much with other children should be kept alone a little more during the process of training, or one who is solitary by situation or by preference should be put more with other children. Excitement and constant stimulation are to be avoided, but, on the other hand, a child will not be so interested in forming socialized habits if there are, in his environment, no children whose opinion he greatly values. And he often becomes calloused to the opinion of his own brothers and sisters.

Dressing the child in rubber bloomers should be avoided as the body often becomes scalded and inflamed in this way and the irritation is increased. There is another advantage in not protecting the child with rubber—an infringement of the law is noticeable and can be disciplined immediately rather than at some later time when the wetness is discovered.

In persistent cases where the intelligence is below normal, it is very difficult to establish habits of cleanliness, and it is, if anything, more important than with normal children, for the subnormal child often appears to be of lower grade than he really is because of poor excretory habits.

Cases of enuresis persisting in adolescents and adults may often be reached by psycho-analysis. This method may also be employed with children, but with special care, since the immature individual may be greatly harmed by unwise interference.

This is a very brief survey of a very large and complicated subject. Many books could be written on enuresis. We would emphasize the suggestion that physical examination is

not enough. Most often it will be found that the trouble lies either in the formation of a faulty habit or in the tendency on the part of the child to retain what has been a pleasurable sensation over an unduly long period, or in the desire to dominate parents. This unserviceable type of behavior can be controlled only by the most careful re-education.

CHAPTER V

LEARNING TO SLEEP

In order to understand the problems involved in the establishment of good sleeping habits, it is necessary to think of sleep as an active rather than a passive process. It is not true that when a person has nothing more to do a passive state (sleep) occurs, in which the mind is inactive and the body unconscious of its environment. It would, perhaps, be more nearly accurate to think of sleep as a refuge into which one goes when he can no longer tolerate the waking life. It is an active rather than a passive state.

A fair analogy may be drawn between the waking-sleeping being and a frontier fighter. After the day's activity outside, the frontiersman was at night back of the walls of the fort, undergoing repairs, resting, singing, laughing and in general indulging in those activities impossible to the person surrounded by hostile influences. He was passive only to the extent that the stockade circumscribed physical activity. A part of the troops slept; while others remained awake in order to protect them from the enemy, who in the analogy is "waking."

During the early months of life the human being is relatively unaware of activity going on outside his own body. With proper feeding and routine his inner processes are satisfactory and adequate for purposes of living since he is as yet in only the most limited way self-supporting.

A very young baby will sometimes sleep eighteen to twenty of the twenty-four hours. The other two hours are

usually spent in crying or in the processes of being dressed or bathed.

The sleeping schedule of children as arranged by Dr. Max Seham is as follows:[1]

"From birth to one year a minimum of 16 hours, a maximum of 22. From 1 to 2 years, a minimum of 16 hours. From 2 to 3 years a minimum of 15 hours, 12 at night, from 6 to 6, 1 hour in the morning, and 2 hours in the afternoon. From 3 to 4 years, 14 hours, 12 at night, 2 hours either in the morning or afternoon, afternoon preferred. From 4 to 5 years, a minimum of 13 hours, preferably 14 hours. From 5 to 6 years, 12 hours at night, 1 hour nap if possible."

The young of all the animal world sleep a great part of the time. Even a half-grown dog will sleep from eighteen to twenty hours a day.

Sleep is very much affected by experience, by training, by the amount of excitement as well as the amount of exercise and the general state of well-being, or by emotional attitudes such as boredom, discontent, or unhappiness. Sleep is also modified by the age of the individual, possibly by the sex, certainly by the state of the metabolism and general fatigue, by the nutritional state, by the occupation, physical and mental, and to a great extent by the daytime activities and necessities.

We are undoubtedly conscious to a great extent during the entire sleeping period, but we select from the environment those things which we wish to notice, and ignore those things which we wish to ignore. A physician and his wife had to sleep in a room in which a baby slept, and where there was a telephone. The physician had many night calls. Eventually the two people worked the problem out within their own minds in such a way that the woman waked only when the

[1] *The Tired Child*, Max Seham, M. D., Lippincott & Co.

baby cried; the physician waked only when the telephone rang. Both undoubtedly heard both the baby and the telephone, but each one selected, with his sleeping mind, the particular sound to which to respond.

Children apparently have the same hearing capacity during sleep that adults have.

The question of their children's sleep is befuddled by parents' ideas of the "sound and innocent sleep of childhood." If children sleep soundly it is because, like adults, they have determined not to wake at certain occurrences in their environment. Of course, this "determination" is rarely conscious on the part of children.

A certain child of four had to be put to sleep by his mother, who was obliged to sit by his side until he was sound asleep. This child was determined with his conscious mind, doubtless, as well as with his unconscious mind, to keep his mother by his side. In other words, he had determined, either consciously or unconsciously, to wake whenever she attempted to leave, and this he sometimes did as often as five or six times.

Children have the same sleeping difficulties that adults have. They have difficulty in getting to sleep; they have difficulty in staying asleep, and they have difficulty in sleeping well. In the case of the child just as in that of the adult, the nervous tension of the day is a big factor in the inability to get to sleep. The night is more important as an index to the past day than as an introduction to tomorrow.

One of the commonest causes of poor sleep in children is the attitude of adults in regard to sleep. An astonishing number of otherwise "adult" grown-ups brag about staying up as though going to bed were something to be ashamed of. "Oh, we *never* go to sleep until midnight" is a common statement said in a tone that implies that there is something very "low class" about going to bed early. Children sense this

attitude and naturally object to conforming to what is apparently an undesirable standard.

The same thing is true in regard to sleeping poorly of which people often speak with real pride. To a certain type of rather infantile adult it is the earmark of great delicacy to sleep poorly. These subtle, and amusing, attitudes toward sleep are none the less destructive to children just learning the process.

Indigestible food, which is usually considered to be such a great factor in sleeplessness, is really secondary. The general capacity for excluding other stimuli is somewhat lowered if the body is flooded with stimuli of even a mild and partial sort such as occur in indigestion, but it is not the general cause of sleeplessness, dreaming, and restlessness which it is thought to be.

The big factor in poor sleep are past experiences of an undesirable nature. Parents say to their children, half in jest, "You seem not to want to go to bed. I believe you are afraid that you will miss something." This remark, made as an amusing comment, is often in reality the truth. The child, from past experience of seeing interesting things at night, does literally refuse to go to bed and to sleep because he may miss something. He may merely wish to be in the general living room—a part or even a very center of attention of the assembled adults, or he may wish to hear their general conversation and their comments on the various affairs of life.

But these things, as a rule, do not hold enough fascination for the young child to keep him awake. More common cause of delayed sleep is previous observation of sexual acts of the parents when the child was supposed to be asleep. This subject is more fully treated in the chapter on "The Mysteries," but it is impossible to over-stress the amount of destructive half-information obtained by children in this way.

Many parents are disinclined to believe that a child can perceive such acts during the early years of life and yet many adults recall incidents of a sexual nature that can have occurred only before the third year. Such incidents are of exceptional interest to the child because of the mystery with which they are surrounded. Sex acts, pondered over, lead to a type of tension that is essentially distorting to sleep in the young child, and, unless eliminated by some special educational process, is likely to remain so in adolescence and adulthood. Night terrors, disturbing dreams, sleep-walking and sleep-talking, and even nocturnal enuresis may have some such experience as a determining factor.

There is one absolutely hard and fast rule. The child *should never sleep* in the room *with his parents* after he is a year or a year and a half old, and he should not sleep in the same bed with an adult. He should not sleep with a child of the opposite sex, and it is better that he should not sleep even with one of his own sex. Sometimes, because of limited space, parents feel that two children must sleep together, but any bed that is wide enough to hold two children comfortably could be replaced by two cots in which they could sleep separately.

It should not be necessary to stress the fact that a child should not sleep with a person of the opposite sex after infancy, yet we find women sleeping with their sons of twelve, thirteen, fourteen, fifteen years of age; men sleeping with their daughters long into the stage of adolescence, and brothers and sisters sleeping together to fifteen, sixteen, and seventeen years of age. This is obviously the worst sort of sex hygiene.

Most of the elements involved in poor sleep are undoubtedly due to poor training superimposed on a certain type of sensitive—perhaps over-sensitive—general nervous mechanism.

We are no longer fatalistic in our attitude regarding the possibility of modifying the over-nervous type of individual by training; for he may be taught to react in a good as well as in an unserviceable way.

People differ very greatly in their sleeping capacity and type. Some sleep lightly, some soundly; some are easily aroused but get back to sleep quickly, while others, when aroused, remain awake. Many of these differences may be due to the structure and type of the nervous system, but much also is due to training. It is, indeed, most unfortunate that the technique of sleeping is not in general more seriously considered. Every effort should be made to attain the proper type of sleep for the child. For instance, it is often better to endure poor sleep for a while until the child has become accustomed to some change in routine or surroundings, than to attempt to change the surroundings. A certain child five years of age was said to be an excellent sleeper. This proved to be true *if* she had her own accustomed mattress and springs, her own pillow, a certain cover which she pulled partly over her face, a certain "teddy-bear" which she held, a light burning in the room and her mother at the side of her bed. It would certainly have been to the advantage of this child to have these elements changed one by one until she had become accustomed to sleeping in unfamiliar surroundings, even though for a while her sleep was poor.

Sleeping habits built up in childhood influence the sleep of the adult; therefore the lessons involved are not for a night but for a lifetime.

It should not be necessary to tiptoe in order to keep a child asleep because, later, conditions will not arrange themselves for him in such a way. He cannot go through life finding sound-proof chambers with the correct ventilation and the correct outlook with which to court sleep. Those adults are happiest in the long run who, through necessity

or wise training on the part of their parents, have been made to adapt themselves to sleeping in any surroundings.

Children who require that the entire house be quiet in order that they may sleep should be put through a definite system of training. This training should have begun at birth. Eventually every one is certain to meet situations in which he must sleep with noises of various sorts, and no one is so at the mercy of his environment as the person who cannot tolerate the slightest rattle of a window or the banging of some screen door or shutter in the neighborhood. For this reason the selection of a room on the street side of the house has a great advantage for a child.

If the importance of the child's going to sleep is overemphasized by the adults of the family, it is extremly difficult to get the mind sufficiently released to permit him to sleep. Relaxation and rest rather than sleep should be stressed.

Sleep cannot be courted; it must be willed by the unconscious mind, not by the conscious. A conscious "willing" to go to sleep is destructive of the very attitude necessary to its successful attainment. Knowledge of successful sleep only should be given to the child. It is very important that he should not hear discussions of sleeplessness. The general question "Did you sleep well?", with the usual answers from the usual adults that they did not, should not be indulged in before children.

Nor should there be discussion of sleep-walking or sleep-talking in the presence of the child. If he has thus walked or talked, he is much more likely to do so again if he hears the subject discussed.

Strictness in regard to the bedtime hour is important. No single variation should be allowed except on unavoidable occasions. A boy of eight who had revolted against his

bedtime hour heard his parents remark: "He has gone to bed year in and year out at this same time, and yet for the last six months has done this peculiar thing." The boy spoke at once and said, "But *once* I did n't, you know; one night I did n't go to bed until nine or ten o'clock." He had learned that variations of his bedtime hour were possible and knew that persistence was one way of winning what he wanted.

The afternoon nap is a very necessary part of the child's schedule. A revolt against it nearly always occurs between the years of three and six, and is to be expected. This break in the day's activities is however of great importance to the well-being of all children, although not all require it to the same extent. The child with an especially nervous temperament, the child with a speech defect, the child with a spastic type of difficulty, or with special tensions, the child who sleeps fitfully at night—all these should be relieved of the tension of living for a short time during the day.

There are certain substitutions for the nap that are almost as good, and are in the long run the most satisfactory way for getting a child to sleep. If there is an absolute rule that the child shall at a special hour lie down alone in a dark room for fifteen or twenty minutes, not more, not less, and this rule is never changed, never varied or modified because of the convenience of the adult or because of the feeling of the child, then the nap is very likely to follow. The nap should end as well as begin at a certain hour.

One of the most common causes of failure of the nap is irregularity, the special dispensation to oblige either the child or the parent.

A second cause for its failure is over-anxiety on the part of the parent and a feeling that the nap cannot be "put over." The profound feeling of discouragement that most parents experience would be amusing if it were not so unfor-

tunate and so destructive to routine. Every kindergartner knows that children can be put to sleep for brief intervals if it is desirable. Often the parent for some reason seems to feel that this cannot be accomplished.

A third cause which is extremely important is the mistake made by parents in talking about the failure to nap in the child's presence. Talk of this kind is so frequent in regard to the nap that it requires special mention.

There are certain definite rules to follow in regard to the nap.

Do not talk about the possibility of failure and do not permit others to do so. Do not vary the hour, do not omit the nap, do not bribe, do not threaten, and above all do not lie down with the child to get him to sleep, because this starts an endless chain that will have to be unraveled later and the whole process started over. If the child is traveling or away from home, have him lie down or put his head in his mother's lap as near the customary time as possible, cover his eyes with a dark handkerchief, and have him remain there during the usual period.

Sleep Activities

The dream can be discussed only very briefly in a book of this size and type. The dream has two functions. First, it protects the sleeper from the thing that would waken him. Second, it is a relaxing from the supervision and censorship by his conscious mind that permits him to enjoy at night, in his sleep, those things that he is denied in the daytime, or to fear those things that he refuses to fear in the daytime.

It is a commonly accepted fact, however, that all the contents of dreams are psychological and have a definite meaning and purpose. The *form* of the dream may be determined by a recent experience or by a sensory stimulus but the *actual*

content of a dream is something that has to do with the more profound wishes or desires of the individual.

To illustrate, an experimenter wished to see what would happen in a series of dreams started by the same stimulus. He put his feet on an electric pad and went to sleep. The pad became very hot, and dreams invariably resulted, which he recorded. After ten of these experiences he found that all of the dreams, although caused by the same stimulus, were different, although they had the fundamental necessity for the removal of sensory stimuli, but the general content of each of his dreams indicated, not only that he was uncomfortable with regard to heat applied to his feet, but the general tone and psychological experience of his whole life.

The dream mechanism of children is usually fairly plain and frank. It is likely to be rather primitive and rather poorly symbolized. Children are not yet civilized to the point where they feel the necessity for the repression of the more primitive types of wishes. They frankly wish for the death of an individual because they do not know what death involves. They give expression in their sleep to the type of symbolism that shows an inadequacy on their part and fear in general for the meeting of situations. Often their dreams are very frankly wish-fulfilling.

One child, from a very poor family whose diet was extremely limited, dreamed almost every night of satisfying food. This child was much underweight, much underfed; he had never tasted butter nor chicken nor many of the things that we consider, virtually, necessities of life. We may assume that there was little symbolization in his dreams, but mainly a frank wish-fulfillment.

What has been said in regard to dreams is true of all the activities of sleep. Walking, talking, enuresis—anything that is done in the sleep may be said to be an output of and a result of the dream life.

Surely the activities and outlets denied the individual during the day will be present at night, and a restless, talking, walking child is for some reason not finding his best outlets during the day. Such a child is, in his sleep, asking for relief from some pressure, from some psychological blocking for which he cannot ask with his conscious mind. This should be remedied in the early years before the habit of bad sleep has fixed itself on the individual and has built up and devised the thing that we think of as a vicious circle—making the nights more uncomfortable and unhappy and the days less satisfactory and less fulfilled.

It is true with the child as with the adult that the best rule for successful sleep is a successful, happy, and useful day. The person who has spent an unsuccessful day involved in things and projects which give no outlet to the fundamental necessities and which bring with them no sense of completion and happiness and successful accomplishment cannot expect to pass a night of quiet and rest.

CHAPTER VI

SENSORY TRAINING

It is customary to think of sensory training in terms of esthetic enjoyment, derived for example from the seeing of pictures and the hearing of music. While this result is to be considered, it is not the primary reason for the training of the sensory equipment. Such specialized enjoyment can be based only on an earlier and more fundamental type of training which is necessary if the child is to develop normally along all lines.

One must consider the difference between the animal and the vegetable world in order to see this plainly. The vegetable gets its sustenance by means of a root system which draws the food supply from the soil. It has, therefore, no problem that involves a necessity for movement. Either it obtains food where it is, or it perishes.

The animal, on the other hand, gets nourishment at a distance, and the eyes, the ears, and the nose are distance ceptors that enable it to find food. This primary "drive" of the organism has resulted in the specialized activities which we think of as the functions of the separate "senses."

In our civilized life, in which an infant is given his food at routine intervals, these senses by which he perceives things at a distance are not necessary in order that he may obtain it; so he must be stimulated to the use of these sense-organs in order that he may mature properly. Through seeing, hearing, smelling, tasting, and manipulating objects with the fingers, the child acquires judgment *to be used later in*

larger situations. The judgment used in complex situations is developed in the meeting of very small ones. The child's processes are something like this: First, he hears, or sees, or smells an object. He goes to it. He handles or manipulates it with close vision, close hearing, and close smelling. On the basis of these experiences, he forms associations which enable him to meet new situations intelligently.

The first intentional stimulation of the child's vision is usually an effort to get him to look at random objects. The second, which often follows in the third or fourth year, is encouragement to read. We feel that there should be no urging of the reading process before school age, and in order to keep away from it as long as possible, there should be no alphabet on the child's blocks. If lettered blocks are given him, they should be pasted over with bright pictures or gay colors.

There are other activities that are very much more valuable, and that are likely to be excluded by reading and writing. No matter how advanced the intelligence of the child, he cannot profit by reading as much as by having simple stories told to him and by making up stories himself. These develop his constructive use of the language, while learning to read has a tendency to block the more spontaneous language activities.

Teaching the child to match one color with another is valuable sense training, while teaching him to name the colors is of no more importance educationally than teaching him the names of any other objects in his environment.

Shortly after birth there is definite evidence of the noticing of sounds, especially such sounds as the crunching of paper or rather sharp and noisy turning on of water. But on the whole, the infant's hearing is not especially active until the sixth or seventh month. From that time on, the child should be trained to observe with his ears, to recognize the footsteps

of the members of the family, the whistle of the train, and the various sounds in nature.

The best ear training comes, however, through listening to speech. From the first, a child should be talked to rationally. Children in even well regulated hospitals and home nurseries often do not learn to talk, because they are not talked to as they are dressed and handled. Very often the child's development is consequently much delayed. While he will not understand much organized speech for the first year, he is learning to expect speech and to experience it as a type of response.

Training of the hearing for development of musical ability should be given rather early. But it must be remembered that our musical scale is not "natural." It is an arbitrary selected and arranged set of vibrations, and for the first three years the child should hear simple melodies and only the simplest harmony, in order that the scale may be thoroughly learned.

It may be safely said that all children are "tone deaf" at birth—in the common interpretation of "tone deaf" as meaning the inability to distinguish or carry a tune. But we have never yet seen a child or adult whom we considered essentially tone deaf, except those who are also deaf in the ordinary sense. If a child distinguishes rising and falling inflection, if he uses different pitches and inflection in speech, he can be taught to carry a simple tune. People who are apparently tone deaf have usually (1) spent the first few years of their lives with adults who did not sing or play an instrument, or (2) who sang off tune or in a strange scale, or (3) who tried to hurry the musical training of the child into the complex forms of composition before the simple melody had been mastered.

If the child himself sings quite early, there should be no effort to place his voice or interfere with its quality. Great

care should be taken to protect his singing activities from well-meaning but thoughtless adults who will make him self-conscious, either through teasing, or through too much approval. Many good voices and promising musical careers are spoiled when children in very early years are made self-conscious. The throat tension thus developed is rarely overcome.

Our sense of smell is under-estimated. People generally think that man uses this sense less than do lower animals, and that it has degenerated with the progress of civilization. We have the capacity for tasting only four things—sweet, sour, bitter, and salt, yet we recognize and differentiate between innumerable "flavors," as we call them, and we do this entirely through the sense of smell. We literally taste only the four things mentioned. We smell many, many things, and we associate the odor with the sight of the food. The more civilized the man, the greater his range of identification.

The training of the sense of smell from the standpoint of the esthetic is certainly not to be under-valued. A child should be taught early to detect odors, and to distinguish between those that are socially acceptable and those that are not.

It is very difficult to say what the skin sensations are at first. The reaction to painful stimuli—lancing, etc.—is relatively slight and not very prolonged in babies. The reaction to wetness and dryness is slight, although this is often confused with the infant's reaction to warmth and coldness. The skin response is apparently almost entirely to heat and to cold, and definite training of the skin for the recognition of slight differences in temperature is of value. This may be done early, through modifying the temperature of the bath water, with the added advantage of "toughening" the skin, and preventing some of the over-responsiveness to

clothing which is frequently a disturbing factor later.

One of the most valuable ways in which the sense of touch is trained is by the manipulation of objects by the lips and by the fingers and palm. Manipulation by the lips and tongue, should, of course, be restricted to food. Little children do not limit themselves in this way, as their judgment as to what objects are suitable for consumption requires training.

The manipulation by fingers and palms enables the child to detect roughness and smoothness of various sorts, such as weaves in cloth, and to comprehend the difference between the floor and the carpet, or the wallpaper and molding. Such training is of great value in enabling him to form judgments.

The kinesthetic sense [1] is highly developed at birth. From the very first, babies cry in response to restraint and to vigorous pressure on the skin. The infant responds markedly to carrying, to rubbing, to rocking, especially if the chair gives a jarring movement, and to exercise in general. Later the child responds with jumping, skipping, and marching; or with banging, bumping, and throwing of the arms. Adults may prefer smooth, flowing movements, but the child in his developing stage wants bumping, jumping, rhythmic movement of a marked sort. He should have a room of his own in which these activities may be indulged in. This room should be as isolated and as noise-proof as possible so that the adults may not be annoyed and the child restrained.

The great problem ahead of the young child is the learning of muscle movement. He must not learn only how to use his muscles but how, also, to inhibit these movements. Take, for instance, the process of closing a door. In itself it is not a difficult thing. It involves a large and fairly crude movement of the arm. But closing it *softly* involves the toning

1 "Kinesthesia: the perception or consciousness of one's own muscle movements."—*Standard Dictionary.*

down of the movement, the learning of a finer type of inhibitory control. This is a typical example of what is ahead of the child in learning the control of his body under the conditions in which he must live in an ordinary residence.

While involuntary restraint is very unpleasant to the child, voluntary restraint is pleasant to him, and is of value in showing him his actual physical limitations. He will, for instance, enjoy wearing a little harness and pulling against it while someone drives him. His dislike of involuntary restraint is apparently an instinctive behavior pattern.

When definite sense training is suggested for the child, many women say, "I haven't the necessary equipment nor the time for such elaborate work." Actually, the time involved is very slight. It is a matter of making a suggestion at the proper moment, planning a little game, directing, with an occasional word, the child's activities in whatever line he has chosen.

As far as equipment is concerned, there are elaborate sets of sense training material for various purposes on the market, but for the usual child in the usual home the commonplace material in his own environment is preferable. The child's natural ingenuity is developed by the handling and adapting of crude and familiar objects. For instance, with a ruler that bends in the middle and a piece of cloth and a string he can make a doll, or from spools and a box he can fashion a wagon with wheels.

Toys and equipment for young children should be very carefully selected. Rag dolls and animals that can be handled without likelihood of breaking are best for constant play. The very large rag doll may be utilized for educational purposes, as its clothing is almost as big as that of the child's and may be made virtually identical. The doll's clothes should be buttoned with the same sized buttons and button-

holes as those used on the child's clothing, and the shoes should lace or button in the same way.

There is much suitable inexpensive material, such as blocks, plain or with pictures but with no print, nests of blocks, and a blackboard, with white and colored chalk, on which drawing of an undirected sort may be done. No attempt to impose "civilized" ideas of art form should be made, because the child's own forms satisfy him best, and he is likely to discontinue drawing if not permitted to make them freely.

Wheelbarrows, wagons, kiddie cars, large balls, doll furniture, blunt scissors, paper-doll books, and toys of the simplest sort are desirable, but there should be very few mechanical toys.

The scrap bag which is found in nearly every household will yield a remarkable amount of material for the child's sensory training and should be utilized for boys as well as for girls. The pieces of cloth will supply color of various sorts, surface roughness, smoothness, ridges, lumps, and embroidered spots. The association of these fabrics and weaves with their uses, and their identification with the finished object are of great value both to the fingers and to the eyes. As a result of such training, the father's coat ceases to be merely something that envelops father, and becomes serge or homespun, or at least the source of a familiar skin sensation to the small child. His familiarity with all of this material is excellent training.

In every household innumerable objects are cast aside, such as an old flower from a hat, a shoe-lace, a scrap of colored paper or a piece of a rubber glove, which are of interest and value to the child.

The personal duties of the young child, such as dressing and undressing, care of the skin, hair, and teeth, and the bath, include the very best sort of sensory training. The feel and color of the clothing and shoes, the various materials in the

brushes, the combs, the file, the emory board, and the orange stick—all contribute to the child's experience.

The care of his room is of great value in his training. The feeling of the wall-paper, of the furniture, of the floor covering, and of the various fabrics on the bed and the dresser is excellent training material. Children will always utilize such material unless thwarted.

As the child grows older, all of the senses are trained if he lives in a normal healthy environment. The rule is: never push sense training; guide it.

Blights in sense training are due to several different causes. Living in a hurry, for instance, lessens the opportunities of the child for "digesting" the sensations which he is getting. Excessive reading is another hindrance to sensory training as it encourages the child to sit still in a chair and get his experience second-hand.

But the way in which the greatest thwarting of sensory training takes place is through adult prohibition. When a child must live in the rooms with his elders, with their eternal "Don't touch that," "Don't pick that up," "Don't run your fingers along that edge," "Don't handle that book," "Don't run your hands along the mantle." "Don't rub the wall-paper," his actual possibilities for learning are greatly cut down. For this reason, if he is to have sensory training of the right sort, he must have most of his working hours in a room or yard of his own.

All of these processes take time and patience. The child's schedule cannot be adjusted to our own. If he sits and looks out into space instead of attending to business, that is a different matter, but if he is busy manipulating objects while he is dressing, he should be let alone and not hurried, unless he is dressing "against time" for some definite reason. The same thing holds true at the table. We do not know the

correct rate of eating of a child, and we should not attempt to make him conform to our rate at too early an age. Healthy manipulation of the environment is to be encouraged in every way.

All of this sense training is of great value—much more so than instruction in the three R's, and infinitely more so than the recitations and the little rhymes that are so commonly memorized by children. The three R's cannot be successfully taught until the child has had this sensory training.

Even if the mother is unwilling to undertake this training very definitely, there are still ways in which she may be of service. She may supply the material, the leisure and the atmosphere which will allow the child to acquire it himself, and she may refrain from interfering in his normal learning processes.

CHAPTER VII

LEARNING TO WALK

In the study of the process of walking, and of the coarse muscle movements in general, it is interesting to observe with what suddenness the ability to do certain things seems often to be acquired. This was markedly true of infant E. who was under close observation during the first fifteen months of her life. When she was placed on her side on a bed, she was unable to maintain her bodily balance and rolled onto her back, no matter how often the attempt was made; then, quite suddenly, she turned on her side of her own accord, and thereafter did it with perfect ease. This occurred apparently by a process of maturing rather than of learning, and each step in her progress was accomplished in the same way. During the first few weeks of life, in common with all infants of approximately average physical vigor, she supported her head so as to get air when she was laid on her face, and was able to hold it up for a few seconds when she was sitting upright, but, until a certain moment it was necessary to support her back when she sat on the lap of her nurse. Then, as suddenly as in the case of the turning, she was able to support her back alone, and persisted in so doing. At this time, however, she could not maintain herself in a sitting position on a flat surface such as the floor. The ability to do so came all at once, again apparently as a process of maturation.

When first placed in a standing position, her hips and knees were rigid, and her feet in a tense "point"; the power to relax was acquired with the same suddenness which marked the earlier steps in her development.

In the same way she went through the stages of crab-like crawling movements while seated, crawling on hands and knees, standing by chairs, walking with help, and walking alone. Her balance, position and gait were rather poor when she began to walk, but these things corrected themselves by practice rather than by maturing stages. The various steps in the development of walking, and the time of their attainment, are not the same in all children.

Three things are necessary in learning to walk: (1) good bones, muscles, and nerves; (2) a certain amount of intelligence, and (3) something to walk for.

A child whose bones and muscles are too weak for his body, or are disturbed in their type of growth, will not walk so early or so well as a normal child.

When bones are soft from rickets, a physician should be consulted to find out at what time walking may be permitted. It may be necessary actually to restrain the child from walking until his bones have received the calcium necessary for proper development and have been built up by sunshine and feeding. Otherwise the legs may be badly bowed, the hips may be thrown together, and the back may be thrown out of line.

The first steps are taken as a sort of experimental measure. They probably give the child a large amount of pleasure through the muscle movements. Usually he is standing by a chair, then looses his hold and walks to some other object or to some person close to him. These first steps should be encouraged, to be sure, but they should not be urged. A child should be given the correct conditions under which to develop walking—a carpeted, not a slippery floor, *flexible soled shoes,* and the correct stimulation—then left to himself to choose the moment and situation for the attempt of taking his first step.

The process of walking is perhaps regarded a little too

casually by most parents, who think merely that if the human animal is left to himself he will walk eventually. The child should walk at the earliest period that is consistent with the development of bone, muscle, and nerves, in order that he may come into direct contact with his environment.

In cases where the intelligence is below average, there is usually a delay in learning to walk. Possibly the structural anomaly or injury responsible for the faulty intelligence is also responsible for faulty motor control. But while it is generally true that such children are inclined to walk later than more gifted ones, it is impossible to base an estimate of intelligence on the age of walking, owing to the great commonness of hindrances to this process in the ordinary home.

Most important of all is something to walk for. Children of very excellent intelligence sometimes do not walk until relatively late, because nothing in their environment has stimulated them to make the attempt. This is especially true where the sensory training has been neglected or interfered with.

There are three ways of stimulating the desire to walk: (1) by giving approval; (2) by playing a game, for instance, of walking from one person to another; and (3) by allowing the child to get some very definite thing such as a bright bauble, a toy, or something that he has learned to want through training of the eyes or ear.

At first the child's horizon may be said to be limited to whatever is within his own reach. As his perception develops and as his sensory experience is broadened, he begins to tie into his memory things seen at a distance.

If he handles a certain type of bright toy which is then laid on a chair a short distance away, he may be stimulated to walk for it. He knows what it looks like and what it feels

like, and will make an effort to walk in the direction of it so that he may handle it again.

It is evident that instead of the frequent "Baby must n't touch," every encouragement to touch must be given, and his environment must contain objects which he will wish to reach and to handle.

There are certain very common hindrances to walking that should be discussed in this connection. The foot was originally made, apparently, with the intention of assisting in the balancing. If a child is observed standing without shoes, it will be seen that his toes are clamped down against the floor to help maintain his balance. Hence the putting on of stiff soled shoes is very detrimental to his learning to walk. It is an error to think that they help maintain his balance. Another common hindrance is the presence of slippery floors and rugs in the rooms in which the child is learning to walk. When it is possible, it is very advantageous that he be taught the process of walking on the lawn, where the thick grass and the softness of the earth give to the foot and help to maintain his balance.

If he attempts to walk on slippery floors and slips, or trips on a rug, he very often postpones the whole process of walking for several months. Cases have been known where one fall on the floor has definitely dissuaded the child from attempting to walk for three, or even four, months.

Cork carpet, cemented down, is the ideal flooring; next best is the ordinary thick carpet which, with a vacuum cleaner, is no longer a menace. If neither cork carpet nor carpet and cleaner can be obtained, a linoleum rug, carefully laid, may be used, although the thicker softer material is preferable.

From an esthetic viewpoint, a linoleum may not be desirable in the home in which the child has no special room for

himself, but as people become more informed, they learn more and more to discriminate between what is and what is not essential, and they realize that the child can be no better than the physical environment in which he is brought up.

Many parents feel that crawling is an unnecessary and, to a certain extent, dangerous process, owing to the chance for infection and the possibility of the child's picking up dangerous things. But the back muscles are not adequately developed sitting still, and the baby who crawls crab-wise or on all fours is in a better condition for the first steps in walking than the one who does not.

Clothing is a problem that must be considered in this connection. Some women actually refuse to let their children learn to crawl, because of the fact that white clothing becomes soiled easily. There is perhaps nothing so beautiful as a clean little baby in a clean white garment. But to the eye of the informed a baby who does not crawl when he should be crawling is not beautiful no matter how immaculate. It is preferable to see a child in the dirtiest of dark blue denim or black sateen crawling, than to see one sitting still, in the cleanest of white garments.

The attitude of the parents toward bumps and tumbles is very important. Nothing is so likely to deter a child from trying again as having too much fuss made over a fall or slight injury. If the adults of the family rush to him and make an ado over his tumble, he is very likely to think that there was some special danger or that he has been badly hurt. Of course he should not be laughed at if he falls and is hurt; he may be sympathized with for a moment; then he should be encouraged to "jump up and try it again."

It is sometimes difficult to persuade parents to consider crawling and walking as serious steps in the development of the child. It is common to hear a parent say "I did not walk until late; so I 'll not worry about my child." Another

says, "I never did crawl and I walk all right now." But it must be remembered that the organization of one individual is not necessarily like that of another, and what gives trouble in one person may not give trouble in another on account of the difference in physical make-up. The child may be more or less sensitive to environmental blights than was his parent. A child of three, examined because of delayed speech, had not been permitted to crawl. He had learned to walk, but very poorly, and his whole muscular development was bad. The mother resented somewhat the fact that we desired the child to be encouraged to crawl, although he had already begun to walk, because of the development of certain muscles that could not be trained in the walking process. She maintained that she had never crawled, and that she did not believe in letting babies do so because it "made more laundry." When we pointed out to her that her savings in this respect had probably been the direct cause of the present trouble, she was very much surprised. She had not realized that delayed crawling and walking, and her attitude in regard to them, might be causative factors in the delay of the child's speech development.

CHAPTER VIII

LEARNING TO TALK

In order that the child's intellectual and emotional life may develop normally and healthily, it is essential that the child learn to talk at an early age.

Speech is a learned, not an inherited process. If speech were inherited, deaf children would talk, or a child from an Indian tribe, placed at birth in an English group, would speak an Indian dialect and not English. This, of course, does not happen. A child speaks the language of the group by which he is reared and not from which he is born.

We have taken speech for granted so long that it is difficult to consider it objectively. Within the first four years of the child's life, he has to learn not only the sounds of the language and the suitability of response, so that his words are given where they should be, but he has also to learn the complete idiomatic use of the language, and this is much more involved and difficult than we are prone to believe.

Early Stages of Learning to Talk

In order to understand the highly specialized muscle movement which we call speech, it is necessary to consider the development of its earliest stages.

I. The birth cry is a reflex activity, the object of which is, apparently, to supply the blood with fresh oxygen. The cry is more or less incidental, as it is the result of the air being pulled rapidly over the vocal bands (or cords), causing them to vibrate.

During the first month of life, the cries of the infant are in response to hunger and pain and cold, and differ from each other only in intensity.

The cries of one baby differ from those of another mainly as the weight of the infants differs, but there are no noticeable differences caused by race or color. Gross brain defects are indicated to a certain extent by the cries—or the lack of them.

The main speech sounds heard in the crying of the young infant are the vowel sounds in *see, pat, father, bird, too,* and *how.* The main consonants are *m, w, y, g, r, h,* and the French nasal sound in Mont*aigne*, and the glottal stop.

II. The next step in the development of speech is the babble period. This, to the ear, is neither crying nor speech. It is rather a sort of singing, and might be called babble-singing with some accuracy.

This activity seems to be more or less involuntary and reflex, as is crying, and except that it comes in response to pleasant stimuli, is very similar.

Often the babble is very shrill, loud, noisy and unpleasant to hear—a running fire of syllabification interspersed with shrill screams, which appear to give the infant pleasure. Babbling begins at about the fifth month, perhaps earlier, in children fortunate both as to mind and body, perhaps later, in the presence of feeding difficulties.

In the girl baby studied, the first spoken sound occurred on the one hundred and fiftieth day—a soft, volumeless, uninflected *a* (as in *father*) which she said after feeding.

By the one hundred and sixty-fifth day, she had developed a wave-like movement of the tongue which resulted in a sort of grouping of undifferentiated vowel sounds—a sort of "variations" of the theme *a* (as in *father*). In addition, she had the shrill pleasure-scream mentioned previously.

By the two hundred and forty-ninth day (approximately

eight months), the babble had reached its peak. It did not at this time, or ever, contain all the sounds of English speech, but it did contain sounds not occurring in English—Spanish, French, Anglo-Saxon, German and African were represented and doubtless many others not recognized by the observer. The commonest vowel sounds were *a* (as in *about*) and the vowel diphthong represented by *y* in *my*. The commonest consonant sounds were *m, ng* (*sing*), and the French nasal (*Montaigne*), the sounds *b, d,* and *g,* and the Spanish *y,* plus the sound represented by *y* in the English word *you* which was very common. The glottal stop was common; *h* was fairly so, and a bird trill sort of an *r*. Ordinary *r* (as in *red*) and *l,* also *f, k,* and *t,* were very rare; and the sounds of *th* in *thin* and *than,* the sounds of *s* in *sit* and *is,* and the sounds of *sh* in *shoe,* and *s* in *pleasure,* and the sounds of *tsh* in *chair* and *jam* did not occur at all.

At the seventh month she gave positive evidence of knowledge of the meaning of the word *milk,* although she did not use it.

By the two hundred and eighty-fourth day (a little over nine months), the babble had changed in character. It was softer, less distinct, and more like speech. She had developed a form of mimicry that often passes for speech. It is called echolalia. To illustrate, if "bye-bye" was said to her, she responded with something similar. But this was true whether suitable things were being said or not, or whether remarks were addressed to her or not.

From this point the usual child develops speech rather rapidly, and often the different stages of babble are less prolonged.

The records of this child were discontinued at this point, but reports from untrained observers show that she developed a complex use of the sound *a* (as in *pat*) which she used to meet virtually all speech needs. This, and the fact that she

has been more or less isolated by the necessity of staying alone out-of-doors, have served to hinder her further development.

This is of interest to the person training a child, because it serves to show how small are the factors that may intervene to retard rapid development if they occur at important periods.

III. The next stage is the gradual grasping of suitable sounds by associating them with the situation. "Bye-bye," therefore, should be said only when the speaker leaves the room, and not be shouted nonsensically leaning over the crib. "Howdy" should be said only on entrance.

When presenting food in a spoon to the child, desirable food which he likes, the words, "open your mouth," should be said. The mouth will be opened anyway, but the sounds are being learned in connection with the appropriate situation. The first phrase taught should be of such a character, and should be given in this way as a conditioned reflex.

Such phrases as "Give it to mother" or "Where is your nose?" should be left till later. When the baby is handed to another person, the words "Go to ——" may be used, until the child gets the connection between the sound and the movement. After he has learned phrases from a number of such situations, and has learned the meaning of such words as "water," "milk," "food," etc., he will in the ordinary course of events respond with them occasionally. When this happens, *too much ado should not be made,* as very often this has the effect of stopping the child's efforts.

If he does not make this effort of speech, it is wise to have a council of the people with whom he comes in contact to see if he is gaining too much by one sound, or by reaching, pointing or screaming; or if he is being over-stimulated. The steps taken here will differ with each child, and it sometimes requires considerable ingenuity to discover just where the

fault lies. But as a usual thing, when an intelligent child does not begin to talk at the proper age, it is because so much is being done for him in a routine way that speech is unnecessary. It is only after speech is made necessary that it is developed. If it is markedly delayed—beyond the second year in a normal child—he has developed a negativism, and the lack of speech should be considered from the symptomatic viewpoint.

The language learned first is the language learned best. The French people, who put such stress on the beauty of their own language, know this to be true, and their children are taught by people who speak their own language, and who speak it well. It would not occur to a cultured French family to put its children in the hands of an Englishwoman, especially one with a faulty accent or dialectic speech, before they had learned to speak French. Emphasis is laid, by highly cultivated groups of people, on the correct speaking of the native language.

The child carries through life not only the language of the group in which he is reared, but also, to a certain extent, the language of the individual who cares for him most constantly through the first years of life. If this person is his mother, he is likely to have the accent of his mother. If it is someone else, then her dialectic sounds will color it. It is very important therefore that the first nurse, or the first person to handle the child, should be selected to a certain extent from the point of view of purity of accent.

Girls begin the process of speaking from about nine to eighteen months; boys, from twelve to eighteen months. The speech will not be elaborate by the second year, but the child should know how to make his wants known. And he should not only know how, but should also do it. Voluntary use of speech is a necessary part of the standard.

A child who does not talk by his second year should be

studied, and his environment studied, to find the reason. If he does not talk by the third year, he may be considered definitely abnormal, either intellectually or emotionally, or possibly both. Sometimes it is merely a question of bad training on the part of the parents, but something is wrong in his development, and he should be taken for diagnosis to a person trained in this field of work.

In cases of delayed speech the child is handicapped in not only the learning of his language, but he is handicapped also by not having the knowledge of speech with which to acquire his other intellectual processes. Up to the fourth year he probably does very little of what we commonly classify as "thinking" to himself. His whole word process is on the exterior. That is the reason, doubtless, why there is such a flux of words at about three and one-half or four. The child has acquired a vocabulary, is examining his environment, and is thinking out loud. Of course, many children who do not talk understand much that is said to them, but they get little benefit from speech that they do not use out loud, and have little actual speaking vocabulary.

The child may know the names of the objects with which he is associated and yet have no speaking vocabulary. If, for instance, he is told, "Bring me your coat," or "Bring me the chair," he may be able to get the coat or bring the chair, and yet may not use either of those words at any time.

Of interest in this connection is the "identification" vocabulary of a sixteen-months-old bull-terrier dog. He knows almost unfailingly *master, mistress, Betty, baby, collar, walk, eat, bone, go,* and such phrases as: "Take your foot out of your plate," "Take it into your den," "Take it to Betty (mistress, master, etc.)," "Don't roll over in the house," "Did you bark? (don't bark)," "Don't bathe in the house," "Don't touch it—it is mine," "Bring it to me (give it to me)," "Bring (give) me the ball," "Bring

(give) me the bone," "Go for a walk?" "Something to eat?" "Catch it," "Go say goodbye," "Lie down," "Stay there," "Get in the car," "Get up," "Let 's put on your collar," "Let 's put your collar in the box," "Go to bed," "Good dog!" "Kill it (shake it)," "Pillow (an indefinite word meaning 'Go some place else')," "Park yourself (meaning the same as above)," "Quiet," "Stop licking." This list is, by no means, complete nor exceptional for intelligent dogs kept much of the time with people, but it gives some idea of what can be done with any animal, human or otherwise, if the training is consistent.

This learning, on the part of the dog, is not so much a matter of tone of voice, as is often said, as it is of unfailing *consistency in regard to situation.* The words "Want to go for a walk?" were invariably followed by a walk, just as "Want something to eat?" was always followed by food; "Go to bed" was always followed by putting the dog in his kennel. No exceptions were made to the rules, and it was necessary, even, to avoid using the words in our own conversation in the dog's presence. Some member of the family tried spelling the word "walk," but after the first few times this was easily recognized by the dog as the word. The same thing happens often with children.

To teach "Take your foot out of your plate," for instance, it was necessary to sit beside him until he put it in; then to speak quickly and sharply although not in a loud tone. It was necessary also never to overlook one offense in this direction. Interestingly enough, it mattered little what was said, nor whether it was said softly or harshly at first, so long as it was *immediately* after the act. Then, after a while, the words themselves became significant. How much they could have been changed cannot be known, because he soon got so he did not put his foot in the plate.

This technique of learning language we believe to be essentially the same in man and the lower animals.

A good supplementary identification vocabulary helps the child in the development of his working vocabulary, but it is useless alone. He must be able not only to recognize objects, whether pictured or otherwise, but to call their names and use the words *in the situation in which they are necessary.* He must ask for things that he wants, and he must build up the ability to express what is inside of himself in order to develop.

The training has to be reversed for acquiring speech. It will be necessary to say, "What is that?" or "Well, what will you have me get you?"—"What do you want to sit down on?"—"What do we need in order to go for a walk?", until he says, "We need the coat," "I want my gloves," "Where is my oatmeal?" "I want my bacon," etc. To have him use these words in speech gives him what we call a working vocabulary. It is with this that he develops. A certain amount of activity on the part of the parent is involved, since he must do what the child asks, but if this is the only way that speech can be taught to his child, it is the method he should use.

Usually too much emphasis is put on the recognition of pictures. It does the child very little good to be able to identify the zebra, in a picture, or in a zoo. The zebra is not a common household animal. The average child might indeed go through life without being able to name the zebra, and no harm would be done. The zoo is interesting but not vital, and yet the child often knows the rhinoceros, the elephant, and the zebra before he is familiar with the names of foods and objects in his environment.

The following list of one hundred words is taken from Thorndike's *The Teacher's Word Book.* It is recommended

that every parent who is especially interested in the speech of his child should get this book. It is obtainable through Teachers College, Columbia University, New York City.

In order to compile this book, four million, five hundred and sixty-five thousand (4,565,000) words were studied. This included words from literature for children, from the Bible and English classics, elementary school textbooks, books on cookery, sewing, farming, the trades and the like, and words from the daily newspapers and from private correspondence. Forty-one different sources were consulted. Those words most often and most widely used were classified according to their importance in the language. Ten thousand words are listed. They are numbered in such a way that one may find from them the words of commonest usage.

Approximately the first one hundred words[1] in the language in point of frequency of use are:

a	before	have	little	old
about	but	he	long	on
after	by	her	make	one
again	can	here	man	only
against	come	him	many	or
all	day	his	me	other
an	do	how	more	our
and	every	if	much	out
any	for	in	my	over
are	from	into	new	place
as	go	is	no	see
at	good	it	not	so
be	great	know	now	some
been	had	like	of	such

[1] Taken from *The Teacher's Word Book*, by Edward L. Thorndike, Professor of Educational Psychology, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York City.

take	there	up	what	work
than	they	very	when	would
that	thing	was	where	year
the	this	way	which	you
their	time	we	who	your
them	to	well	will (W)	
then	two	were	with	

On examining this list it will be seen that very few words are given which are usually stressed in teaching the child, while some words one would expect to find are missing. These may be added, as this list was not compiled from the standpoint of the order in which a child learns. It is surprising to find so many small words—of, in, into, etc.—and more surprising when it is realized that these words are ordinarily left for the child to pick up, while "zoo," "elephant," "rhinoceros," and various words descriptive of different types of trees and flowers *are* taught.

In cases of delayed speech this list is very helpful. From Thorndike's book can be taken the training for the first two years.

The child should first be taught to say those substitutes for sentences which consist of a single word, as for instance, "Go?" meaning "Can I go?" etc. Then short phrases should be developed—"Daddy come?" "Baby go?" meaning "Has Daddy come?" or "Is Daddy coming?" and "May baby go?" or "Can baby go?" As the child's ability increases, longer sentences involving more complex phrases may be added.

The child learning to speak often confuses the actual English sounds. When untrained adults undertake to help him, he is usually made worse instead of better. This is due to the fact that our alphabet is so inadequate. We have only twenty-six letters, while there are between fifty and sixty

sounds in the spoken language. The two correspond to a certain dim degree only. There are some sounds in the language which are not represented at all, and which do not impinge on the consciousness of the person using them. There are others that are represented by half a dozen symbols. Words *should not be broken up into syllables in giving them to a child, nor should any "letter" be given separately.*

If the child makes a faulty sound, stimulate his hearing of the word as a whole, and persuade him to watch your lips as you pronounce it. If this fails, take him to an expert. Do not make the error of saying "pa-ket-boo-k" for the word "pocketbook." If you say the word "pocketbook" rapidly and as you usually pronounce it, you will find that is more like "pakitbok." There is no division between "pocket" and "book." There is no pause after "pa" in the first syllable. If you divide the word for the child, he is simply confused by certain fallacies of which you are not conscious.

If this custom of dividing the words into syllables and letters is persisted in, and if too much attention is paid to the actual form of the child's speech, a letter-sound-substitution may develop. The child may become profoundly confused, so that his sounds grow worse and worse, and his speech gets so involved that he himself is not sure what he is saying, and he acquires in consequence of this, a fear of talking which develops into a stutter.[1]

The thing to be remembered in connection with speech-training is that the child will not talk without a reason. He talks in answer to some want, either physical or psychological. The physical want comes first. The main psychological cause is association with his kind, or the attempt to develop a shorter process than action, and the necessity for expressing things in his emotional life.

[1] Margaret Gray Blanton and Smiley Blanton, *Speech Training for Children,* The Century Co.

The way to produce the first word is to start with something very concrete. Hold the milk bottle in front of the child and persuade him to make some sound, however faulty or far-fetched, for the word "milk." When this has been accomplished, hand the child the milk at once, so that he gets the connection in his mind between *a vocal effort and a definite reward.* Do not wait to have the word repeated. Start with something concrete, with milk, apple, or even a little bit of sugar; anything that will stimulate the child and which can be held in his sight but not given him until he says the word.

Disorders of Speech

Speech disorders may be classified from the descriptive standpoint as follows: (1) delayed speech, (2) oral inactivities, (3) letter-sound substitution, and (4) stuttering, which includes stammering.

Delayed speech. The normal child begins to use voluntary speech constantly when he is about fifteen months old. If it is delayed a year beyond this time, he should be examined by a physician who is familiar with nervous diseases. The five common causes for delayed speech are: (a) lack of mental development, (b) lack of necessity for speech, (c) continued illness with extreme malnutrition during infancy, (d) unhealthy emotional attitudes, and (e) deafness.

Lack of mental development. The brain must be normal; if it has been injured through accident or disease, speech will not develop. If the injury is discovered early and treatment is instituted, speech may be improved, but if it is neglected for several years, the chances for betterment are very remote.

Lack of necessity for speech. Speech is developed in response to definite needs. If the child has too much done for him, speech is delayed, or is a jargon which no one but the

parents can understand. Such children may be made to talk by refusing to give them what they want until they make an attempt to ask for it.

Continued illness with extreme malnutrition during infancy. Speech disorders caused by illness or malnutrition should be referred to the physician for treatment. Such cases are not common.

Unhealthy emotional attitudes. Children who are extremely negativistic may refuse to talk, and develop a condition of mutism. Sometimes young children have emotional attitudes that are similar to those which we find in older people, whom we call hysterical. Here, there is a definite emotional conflict which shows itself in a physical symptom, causing the child to refuse to speak. Such cases need careful study and training, and nearly always the home conditions must be modified.

Oral Inactivities. Oral inactivities consist of a slurring or indistinctness of speech, which may be due to some organic disease of the speech organs, to some emotional conflict, or to some difficulty in the learning process. The last is often interfered with through unwise attempts on the part of the parents or teachers to give the child phonetics. Some of the cases of oral inactivity have suffered from malnutrition in early childhood. The treatment consists of re-education of the speech organs through corrective phonetics, care being taken that the child is not made speech-conscious or over-anxious. In nearly every case emotional re-education is also necessary, since there has been built up a series of little fears and feelings of insecurity because of the speech defect.

Letter-sound substitution and omission. This is usually called lalling or lisping, and is a substitution of one sound for another, such as *th* for *s*, *w* for *r*, *tsh* for *tr*, and *t* for *k*. This defect is often said to be caused by some abnormality of

the teeth or palatal arch. Our observations, however, have led us to believe that a minority of these cases are caused by organic abnormality. The majority are caused by emotional conflicts. Many of them are due to a *retention of infantile phonetic habits,* and many of them are due to a *retention of infantile emotional habits.* The treatment consists of two parts: (a) emotional re-education, and (b) phonetic re-education. Even in those cases which are the result of organic difficulties, there will be certain fears and emotional reactions connected with speech which must be eliminated before a cure can be effected. In treating this defect the teacher must do three things:

1. He must determine the position of the tongue (or speech organs) in the incorrectly made sound.

2. He must know the position of the tongue (or speech organs) in the correctly made sound.

3. He must be able to determine what over-reaction of the articulatory organs is likely to give the sound desired.

In working with the child there are three points to be noted, which may be roughly stated as follows: (a) unlearning of the wrong position of the articulatory organs, (b) learning the right position of the articulatory organs, and (c) practice until a correct habitual use of the right organs has been obtained. This will mean that the teacher must have a thorough knowledge of phonetics.

Straightening the teeth is rarely necessary. Removing the tonsils and widening the palatal arch are scarcely, if ever, necessary. In the treatment, care must be taken not to make the child too speech-conscious. Very often the lisper may, through unwise training, begin to stutter.

Stuttering, which includes stammering. Stuttering, under which we include stammering, may be described as a break in the rhythm of speech due to a blocking or inhibiting of the

muscle co-ordinations. It must not be thought of as a disease, but as a symptom of any of a number of underlying conditions.

Stuttering is common enough in children to constitute a very serious problem. In a personal survey of six thousand school children of Madison, Wisconsin, it was found that eight out of one thousand stuttered. Dr. Wallin found in a survey of St. Louis school childen that seven out of one thousand stuttered. Many surveys in this country and abroad show that the average is about nine out of every thousand.

Not infrequently it is claimed that children who stutter will overcome it in time. In order to determine the number of boys and girls who reach eighteen and still stutter, a personal survey was made of fourteen hundred members of the entering class at the University of Wisconsin. It was found that one per cent of the students had a marked stutter, and one per cent had a mild stutter, making two per cent in all. It will be seen from these figures that stuttering is not outgrown to any great degree, and even though the defect of speech disappears there remains the defect in the emotions—an undue sensitiveness, a feeling of inferiority which interferes with the progress of the individual.

There is, apparently, very little relationship between the severity of the symptom and the severity of the emotional difficulty which is its cause. Many people have a very slight defect in speech, so slight that it cannot be noticed, but they feel severely handicapped, because, as one boy expressed it, he never knew when he was going to have trouble with a word, and, even though he stuttered very rarely, meeting people and adjusting himself to groups were a great strain on him.

Curiously enough, the distribution of stuttering in boys and girls is very disproportionate. There is four to six times as

much stuttering among boys as among girls. Just why this is so, no one knows. When a girl does stutter, however, it is as difficult to overcome the defect as it is in a boy.

We do not find any explanation of the cause of stuttering through examination of the bodily organs. Of course, such conditions as malnutrition, diseased tonsils, carious teeth, and nasal obstructions may cause an increase in the natural irritability of the nervous system, but these conditions are not the cause of stuttering.

Stuttering is not inherited, although the child may inherit a sensitive nervous system, on the basis of which stuttering is likely to develop without the proper discipline and training or through unwise pressure.

Speech is man's chief medium of adjustment to other people; it is the chief means by which he establishes contact with his fellow beings. Stuttering is caused by the fear, partly conscious and partly subconscious, of meeting the group. The child fears to meet the group, but he also has a desire to do so. He would like to flee away from the situation altogether. At the same time he would like, if possible, to meet it. These tendencies to flee away and to meet the situation come into conflict, and there is a compromise in which neither good speech nor absence of speech results, but broken, inhibited, stuttering speech.

A search of the emotional life of stuttering children always reveals some of these defects: timidity, strong feelings of inferiority, an over-dependence on the parents, and feelings of inadequacy. In some cases we notice a marked rigidity towards life, an unwillingness to change food and sleep habits, an over-suggestibility, a chronic fear of meeting certain groups of people or situations, or a marked sensitiveness.

The essential characteristic of the temperament of the stuttering child is a keen sensitiveness to social situations. This sensitiveness is really a great virtue if properly trained and

controlled. In our own experience with stutterers, we have come to feel that they have the most pleasing and delightful personality of any group of people of whom we know. Their quick responses to social situations, their marked sensitiveness, their keenness of perception of social relationships, give them an insight and develop in them a type of personality which is both pleasing and appealing. Stuttering should be thought of as a danger signal which indicates that the child requires very careful training in order that he may make use of a sensitive, over-reacting nervous system.

The treatment of stuttering falls under three headings: (a) physical hygiene, (b) mental hygiene, by which we mean emotional re-education, and (c) relaxation and training in muscle co-ordination.

(a) The laws of physical hygiene are well known to parents; so we shall not dwell on this phase of the subject.

(b) In mental hygiene the fundamental thing is the changing of the general emotional reactions and the correcting of faulty attitudes which give rise to tension. The child must be trained to work successfully rather than to day-dream, and to get along well with other children. Some outlet must be found for his fundamental social and biological tendencies and for his necessity for winning some success.

(c) Parents should absolutely ignore the child's speech defect as such. They should not ask him to repeat sentences, and should not seem distressed or irritated when he becomes blocked or inhibited. Even slight changes of expression on the face are noticed by the stuttering child.

The use of phonetics or of vocal exercises, such as inflection, change of pitch, breathing, etc., is to avoided. There is no difficulty in the child's speech mechanism. The difficulty is primarily psychological. Talking is to be encouraged, as are all situations of a social nature, because through them the child is really being trained to meet life.

PART II

CHAPTER IX

THE NURSERY

Child guidance concerns itself not only with the attitudes and behavior of the people with whom the child comes in contact, but also with his psychological and physical environment. This is true because the learning of a muscle habit which depends, let us say, entirely on the child's physical surroundings, may be a definite element in the formation of his psychological habits. For example, he may not learn to walk at the usual time because of slippery floors, and this inability to walk may give rise to a marked feeling of timidity and insecurity.

In order that the child may have the best opportunity for development, it is essential that he have his own living quarters, a room or rooms in which he may spend his sleeping and most of his waking hours. This room may be shared with another child but never with an adult. There are definite advantages not only in his having his own room, but also in getting him out of the rooms in which the adults of the family live.

In the first place, the general living quarters of the family have certain disadvantages for the growth of the child's muscular system. An adult has only to attempt to cross the polished floor of a ballroom or to move freely on an ice-covered sidewalk in order to realize the difficulty under which the child labors in trying to walk on the slippery floors of the average home. His muscles are not yet trained in the co-ordinations necessary for walking. He has not the skill for

the inhibiting movements necessary for walking in a room where the floors are glazed and where, in addition, there are many objects which may be hurt by a slip or a tremble.

The frequent falls, the constant cramping of the muscles necessary to avoid falls, and the constant fear of falls are very bad for the acquiring of the ease and security which are necessary if the movements are to become automatic and comfortable.

In rooms arranged primarily for adults, there are many objects which the child may not have or touch. He will come in conflict with the property rights of others all his life, to be sure, but especially during his first three years, and, to a great extent, his first five years, he should not have his environment too much limited in this way.

In rooms arranged for adults, another factor greatly against the child's developmental welfare is the size of the chairs, tables, and general furniture, none of which fits his body, and all of which limit his possibility for relaxation.

A little girl of four and a half years, although entirely normal and rather exceptionally bright, was of very small stature, being scarcely larger than the average child of two and a half or three. Her muscular build was very slight. She gave an impression of great delicacy, although she was fairly healthy and strong for her height and weight. She had developed an extreme timidity and a very bad stutter.

A study of this child in her environment showed that she labored all the time under great tension. She rarely sat down, and she rarely relaxed. She was always moving or running around, or being picked up and held on someone's lap. This excessive activity was found to be mainly due to the fact that with the exception of one small chair there was literally no seat in the house that she could sit on even for a few seconds without effort. She gave the impression of a bird that can find no place to light.

This child's behavior was greatly modified by the expedient of placing in each room of the house a bench or a chair, the legs of which had been sawed off to make it the correct height for her. On the porch there was placed a cot onto which she could crawl easily. In the dining room there was an old, painted porch bench, cut down and arranged for her so that during the meal hour she might go to it if she wished and relax and recline in the way that a young child needs to do at frequent intervals.

In the more formal reception room of the home was placed for her a very charming over-stuffed chair with the seat just eight inches from the floor. Her bed was lowered so that she might get on it more easily; in front of the wash basin was placed a box on which she could stand with comfort to wash her hands.

It might be argued that the effort necessary to reach to higher furniture would give her good training. There was still enough adult sized furniture in her environment for her to get this practice.

Another disadvantage of the child's living in the general quarters of the family is the necessary difference in the rate of living of children and adults. The hours kept are bound to be different, and much adult activity may be very confusing or over-stimulating to the child.

An adult, for instance, may start a lively dance record on the phonograph. No matter how much the child enjoys the music, it may not be good for him to hear it. Very often it is true that the more responsive the child is to music of this sort, the more high-strung, temperamental, and "quick-reacting" he is, and therefore careful consideration should be given as to whether or not he should be given this particular type of stimulus.

The radio, interesting and educational as it is, is a growing menace to the nervous, temperamental child, who is permitted

to stay up later and later to hear the various programs that come in.

Separate living quarters for the child obviate this continued over-stimulation from a new program or a new record, a new person coming in for a visit, or a new subject of conversation introduced by the adults of the family.

To a certain extent all of these things are educational, but the social adjustment involved in his contact with the outside world should be a development as gradual and as carefully guided as would be his progress in the study of arithmetic.

Adults have a right to the pre-emption of most of the activities and physical comforts of their own living quarters. When the child must occupy the same rooms, he is often controlled not according to his needs or even his rights, but according to the whim of some adult in the environment.

To illustrate, the head of a family, one hot summer afternoon, was reading a paper in the living quarters of a comfortable middle-class residence. A girl of six was skating on some new roller skates on the porch just outside the living room. This arrangement seemed entirely satisfactory until the man came across an editorial that disagreed with his political convictions. He suddenly discovered that he was tired and that his head ached, and called to the child, in a sharp voice, to stop skating. The child did not wish to stop, and did not do so, since she could see no good reason why at eight minutes to five she might skate and at six minutes to five she might not.

The man then went to the door and in a threatening tone of voice commanded her to stop. The child was afraid of possible punishment for not having obeyed at first, and, in a panic, continued to skate. Then the man made the strategic error of attempting to catch her, and there ensued the unhappy scene of the child dodging and the man lunging at her in anger. By an unfortunate accident she struck the man in

skating past him, and knocked him down. He clutched at her, and they fell together. Humiliated by his fall and by the fact that it had been witnessed, and by the knowledge that he had managed the affair poorly, he punished the child rather severely.

Twenty years later, this girl still harbors this incident against her father and has never been able to have any deep belief in his justice or his judgment. The question was really one of the ownership of the air waves that carry noise; to the man's mind the sudden necessity for quiet was imperative. None of this need have occurred had the child's domain and the man's domain been clearly defined. To the child's mind a person who has a right to skate one minute has the right to skate the next. Such conflicts will arise when children and adults, with their varied interests and capacities, occupy continuously the same quarters.

The child is in the process of learning highly socialized conduct, habits of cleanliness, habits of order, and of quiet, the idea of property rights and of truthfulness, which are necessary to social adjustment. The place to learn them is not where each infringement will be punished either by actual disciplinary measures or by the displeasure of the parents and the older members of the family. No child is born with these capacities, and the learning processes are slow and are bound to be interrupted by many failures, by which he profits, if he is living in his own quarters. If he is living in the general quarters of the family, the result is more apt to be suffering and consequent failure to learn from errors.

The nursery should be equipped with a screen door into the hall in addition to the usual door. The screen door may be locked from the outside, and the other door left open, when the children are young; thus any really serious difficulty can be overheard. The nursery should be arranged from the

point of view of the child's educational needs. The physical qualifications should be considered first. Contrary to the usual feeling, the windows should, if possible, look on the street. The child needs the variety of interests presented by the street. He is presently to enter the life represented there and the meeting of the small dramas of the sidewalk from the vantage of his window, before he is called on to meet them in person, is very excellent training.

It is also well for him to learn to sleep where there is the amount and type of noise that he is likely to be called on to endure later.

With regard to the appearance of the nursery, the white, "sterilized" type of interior decorated Mother Goose room which appeals to many adults is far from ideal. The room should, before everything, be a livable, homey sample of those in which the child will live through the rest of his life. If possible, the child should have his own bath adjoining his room.

The nursery should contain a bed with sides, one that has box springs or heavy springs, and a good heavy mattress. Very many children are put to sleep on beds that no adult would consider occupying. A thin pad on top of faulty springs is not a suitable place for a child to rest. The window or windows should be protected by heavy screens. These screens should not push out from the inside of the room, for the child should be able to lean against them with safety.

If it is possible, the room should have a fireplace. Life around the fire developed fundamentally out of the experience of the race. This fireplace should be covered with a fire-screen that hangs on screws from the top of the fire, opening in such a way that it cannot be moved by the child. The screen should be of material fine enough to prevent sparks from flying into the room. A low fire burning in the fireplace will often keep a child contented and happy when he is alone in

the room, and it gives him invaluable material for building his imaginative life.

There should be low chairs and stools, and at least one heavily padded chair in which the child can curl up to play with his various small objects. The usual kitchen chair may be sawed off to the correct height or an ordinary box may be covered and mounted on casters. There should be a table with rounded corners and short legs, a chest of some sort for his clothes, a dressing table his own height, a set of shelves for toys, and a desk with room for a few books. The clothes closet should be arranged so that the child may keep it in order himself.

The floor should be entirely covered with a heavy linoleum or cork floor covering, or a padded carpet.[1] Either will be warm and will give to the child's foot.

The effect of the room should be cheerful, simple, homey, usable, and with the "peasant" quality that will make the child think of it in future years as carrying the actual atmosphere of home.

If a phonograph or small disc machine of any sort is in the nursery, its use should be limited very carefully. It should be allowed as only a special privilege at tea time, or on a rainy afternoon. There are two reasons for this. The first is that the child is easily over-stimulated by music. In the second place, he is likely to form the habit of running such a machine because he has a lack of initiative for utilizing his other resources. Instead of proving that the child is especially fond of music, the playing of a phonograph often dictates nothing but a sort of nervous irritability and lack of resourcefulness on the part of the child, and it should not be counted on as a definite part of his education unless it is supervised very carefully by an adult.

One of the questions invariably asked with regard to the

[1] See "Learning to Walk."

nursery is, "Where is this room to come from in the usually crowded American home?"

This question usually answers itself when the parent has been convinced of the necessity of the room. The first floor of the usual American home has a hall, a living room, a dining room, a kitchen, and often a sun parlor. It would be infinitely better for the peace and the comfort of the home if, in case there were no other room available, the living room were used also as a dining room, and the dining room were assigned to some adult for sleeping, thus freeing a room upstairs for the child. Once the necessity for the separate nursery is recognized by American parents, the architects of the country will incorporate this feature in the house.

An average English family would not consider a house that did not have one room that could be used for a nursery. The majority of them have two, and in all the higher class homes two or three rooms are assigned to the children. The better class of training schools for children's nurses in England will not recommend graduates to homes where the child does not have separate day and sleeping rooms. A study of the situation in the better class of English homes showed that the usual arrangement was a night nursery in which both the children and nurse slept, and a living room or day nursery. This is not so desirable as having the nurse sleep in a separate room, but with the mechanical wall bed available in this country, it would be easy to modify these arrangements.

In England there is always a nurse, and usually a second-nurse. In this country such an arrangement is neither practical nor always desirable. Nurses in England are recruited from the peasant class. They are essentially sound, and their experience is of the close-to-earth variety that is one of the great attributes of the English child-training.

Nurses in America, on the other hand, are usually recruited

from the "servant" class, and are most often selected for their capacity as "good servants." This is a very unfortunate attitude on the part of well-to-do American parents which will be different when they begin to realize the importance of the training received during the first five years of the child's life in enabling him to take his place comfortably and effectively in the general social scheme.

The lack of a nurse does not preclude the use of a separate nursery room. It is better for the mother to be with the child in his room than in her own, where so many forbidden objects are displayed.

There is also the possibility of teaching the child to stay to a certain extent in his room alone, or with his brothers and sisters or other children. In this way he will receive infinitely more valuable training than he usually gets in the rooms of the adult members of the group.

When the house has its own yard, as it usually does in this country, a small section of it should be fenced and given over to the exclusive use of the young children. Here they can play in complete safety and freedom. If possible, there should be a direct entrance from the house to this play-yard. In it there should be a tree or a group of shrubs under which the children can play. Here they should be permitted to keep their priceless collections of boards, boxes, discarded sacks, kitchen utensils, and the like, which mean so much to them.

The separate room and yard are important to the child because they give him physical security from the mishaps that may overtake him in the adult rooms, and because they liberate him from the presence of forbidden things and make it possible for him to manipulate his physical environment. They insure his own psychological security also.

With his own room and his own play-yard, the child

becomes an independent social unit, until such time as he is old enough to be interested in the house and garden of the family.

The nursery serves as a den into which the young animal of our species may crawl for freedom and protection from unwarranted interferences from the adult in his environment, and his room and yard should be so considered. The child should never be dragged out of his den and punished, unless he has committed some special piece of outlawry. He should never be carried into his den and punished for errors committed in other parts of the house. It should be a sacred place; his place, and the place in which he, for once, is king of all he surveys. This builds up his sense of responsibility and freedom, while it relieves him of the necessity of continual adjustment to individuals in other cultural stages.

Training Equipment

The child of nursery age is ready for any opportunity given him for the development and co-ordination of his body members. Anything on which he can pull, push, climb, balance, walk, swing, roll, or run is veritable bait to this young gymnast. Therefore, the following suggestions are excellent for out-of-door apparatus:[1] Ladders—a stationary one, a movable one of three or four rounds and a horizontal one at a comfortable height. Boards for walking up or on, adjusted as the child may desire. Boxes on which boards can be placed, to tempt the ones who like to walk over "bridges." Rope swings of various height with wide board seats to suggest standing as well as sitting. Teeter boards, made of a plank over a horse or the more elaborately constructed ones. Ground space for long hauls with wagons or sleds or for

[1] We are indebted to Mrs. H. H. Cory of the Cory Nursery School for the suggestions for equipment.

riding on stick horses. Ground space, also, for toboggans in season. A slide that can be moved from high steps to a low wall or low steps, or even under the porch for a rainy day safety valve, is a splendid investment. Cement space for running wheel toys.

Large boxes or blocks, hammer and nails, chairs, a rug or two, a movable table, jump ropes, kiddie cars, and almost anything on wheels furnish additional equipment. A sand box and a mud pie corner equipped with spoons and pans, sieves and funnels make a place of interest for children at all times. When none of these is possible, a jar of wet clay is a splendid substitute or is an additional incentive to activity. A trapeze bar or ring gives an additional zest to the horizontal ladder. A set of three or four steps is desirable to jump from, or for little sociable groups of story tellers to sit on.

For indoor play, a blackboard and crayons, pencils and paper, scissors (blunt), paint, bubble pipes, and clay or plasticine are suggested. Blocks, sturdy cars and engines, wagons, and play animals are a nucleus for one type of interest. Dolls, tables and chairs, beds, cradles or buggies, clothes, floor cloth, broom, pan and duster, wash tub and *water,* clothes pins and line satisfy another play interest. For the quiet moments, books—stories, rhymes, and music books. Picture puzzles and blocks for design become a basis for co-operative help and interest of parent and child.

At times pets can be brought in for a shorter or longer period, depending on the well-being of the animals and the interest of the child—a dog, a full grown cat, a family of chickens, or such pets as turtles, snails, or white mice. The animals should live outside, in housing quarters of their own, preferably on porches or in the yard. A list of animal pets may safely include the following: a well-trained dog, rabbits, guinea pigs, a bird or goldfish. While the children should be

interested in its care, the animal should not be dependent on them but on some adult.

The bathroom, if adjoining the nursery and used only by the children, should, of course, be adapted in its equipment to the size best used by the child. If the adult bathroom must be used, low hooks should be provided for the children's towels, washcloths, and tooth-brushes. A $4 \times 6 \times 12''$ block of wood will facilitate the use of bowl and vault, and permit the child to care for himself without adult assistance. Such a block is easily covered with oilcloth, and silence domes may be added to two sides so that it can be easily moved, and used on either the $6''$ or $4''$ surface, depending upon the height of the child. Rubber domes will prevent its slipping on tiled floors.

CHAPTER X

THE CHILD'S CALENDAR

We are prone to think of the child's training as going on only when he is under his definite routine. Breaks in the routine are just as important and just as much a part of his training. The tendency of the human machine is to become fatigued if it is kept at one task over too long a period, but unless the breaks in routine are really organized from the standpoint of training, they are often very destructive.

The break in routine is more than made up for by the opportunity for adjustment and learning which is given to the child by the various little holidays and special occasions, provided they are carefully arranged and considered from the angle of the child's development. Even visits for the afternoon with other children can be made advantageous. "Spending the day" away from home, which has gone somewhat out of fashion, since it is rather trying to the adults, was a very good custom from the point of view of training.

Through a fear of communicable diseases, parents often keep their children from playing with other children. This association is necessary, however, in order that they may get training in group adjustments, and so when it is suitable it is wise to have children visit one another and play together. One must be careful, however, that children are not placed under too much strain by such contacts.

The inter-reaction of the children should be carefully watched and those budding tendencies which are unhealthy, gently nipped. Observe the child, first with one companion,

then with another. Watch for the traits that are developed early in response to the leading traits of children from the outside, such as bullying, a tendency to dominate or impose on other children, but keep in mind the fact that it is necessary for the child to learn to get along with people of all castes, classes, and types.

When the child goes to another home to visit, it is impossible to check the results so carefully. It is possible, however, to observe his reaction on his return home, and to know to a certain extent what occurred while he was gone. A child who comes home from a visit, relaxed, happy, cheerful, inventive, full of new games and perhaps a little hard to handle, has usually been in a fairly healthful atmosphere.

If he returns irritable and cross, "cantankerous," and belligerent—ready to start a fight with anyone who comes into his environment—then it may safely be assumed that there has been something wrong about the contact, either on his part or on that of the child he has been visiting.

Association with children a number of years older than he is very difficult and is productive of a great deal of strain, even when the child is of superior intelligence and the mental discrepancy is not great. A discrepancy in experience and in size is often a strain.

Saturdays and Sundays must be thought of as special periods with children. The older children are home from school and a definite change in routine occurs. On Saturday afternoons and Sundays there is often the added presence of adults, with the resultant tension. Then there is often the running of the phonograph or radio apparatus, and the dressing for and getting away to Sunday school and church. A great deal of what adults think of as just "a nuisance" in the change in routine may constitute a severe strain for a child under the age of six or seven.

Sunday school is often a profoundly affecting experience for a young child. The strain is great. The association with other children in a group is new. He has a feeling of awe often of the church building itself. The material given may not be suitable for the intelligence of a young child, and the congregational singing and the ado made over the kindergarten are often too great a strain. Adults not working with the children should be excluded, the children should be divided in small groups, the service should be simple and should not be too long. In many modern churches the kindergarten is turned over to trained kindergartners and the children are kept isolated from the rest of the church school.

The most important factor with regard to Sunday, however, is the question of the afternoon ride in the car. There is perhaps no one influence in the life of the young child more harmful than the present custom of tucking all of the children in the car and going for a ride on Sunday. Often the first "war" over the question of the afternoon nap occurs on account of the relaxing of discipline on Sunday. This is especially true where the children come to the Sunday dinner table.

If the person who has the training of a child in charge will take a young puppy in a car and subject him to the same conditions in order to observe what effect it has on the young animal, it will be observed that the puppy will respond for a short time and then will lie down and sleep, or, if he does not, he returns home in a state of exhaustion and drops down at once.

In three different cases in which sleeplessness, poor appetite, nervousness, erratic behavior, and tensions of various sorts were the main complaints with regard to the child, the automobile was directly responsible. Removing the child absolutely from the car, except when it is necessary to take

him somewhere, and letting him play in the yard, or under the trees, or on a porch while the family enjoys the car, is much the better way. The child under eight should not be taken in the car for pleasure purposes.

Mondays were very noticeable, in the kindergarten-clinic for nervous children, as bad days. Routine was difficult; discipline was difficult, and the children were excessively fatigued and cross. Much of this was avoided by keeping the children out of the car on Sunday. Taking them to ride in the car on hot summer evenings is also very fatiguing to young children.

When it is absolutely necessary for the baby of the family to ride in a car, a basket should be placed on the floor and the child required to lie in it.

It is difficult for adults to realize that children are constituted in such a way that they are unable to receive continued stimulation without over-strain and fatigue. They are over-stimulated in the car by the constant movement and new sights and interests. The parent is often misled by the fact that the child enjoys the ride so much, and apparently learns so much from it.

On the whole, the morale is lowered in the family on Sunday. There are various upsets in routine. Papers are permitted to lie around, and noises occur that do not occur during the week. These are all important factors with a young or nervous or tense child, or one who does not sleep well.

It is not at all exceptional to see a small child taken to the movies. His reaction to them is rather peculiar. Often he dislikes them very heartily until he is actually forced to like them by continued attendance. Eye strain and general fatigue are the results, because his eyes are not made in such a way as to endure the constant motion over a prolonged

period. This discussion is entirely aside from the psychological one of what the child gets from the screen. Up to seven or eight years, it is quite possible that very little of the pernicious part of sex pictures "gets over" to him. The more destructive type, possibly, is the exciting comic in which there is a great deal of chasing and falling, and the tension is very high. The *excessive tension* and the very definite strain upon the eyes are the chief evils of the movies.

The theater is becoming less and less a problem because, outside of the larger centers, there are few theaters now, and there the occasional play that the child sees is selected for him.

On the other hand, holiday parties are becoming more and more a problem. Up to the fourth or fifth year, they are enjoyed more by the adults than by the children. The young child who goes to a party usually suffers from a keen degree of over-excitement and stimulation, the omission of his nap, and finally an over-eating of ice cream, cookies, and various other sweets. But it is apparently one of the experiences to which he will be subjected at intervals, and the resultant ill-effects should be minimized as much as possible. He should be told that he cannot go until he has lain down for the usual, stipulated period whether he sleeps or not, and the amount of food he eats should be regulated.

It would be much better if parents giving parties for children under five would serve the refreshments immediately after the guests arrive, because then they would not interfere with supper or, if the hours of the party are from three-thirty to five-thirty, the refreshments may be served late, as a supper, so the children's eating routine will not be disturbed. Many parents now follow this custom.

If the refreshments are served as supper, the child should be put to bed as soon as he gets home from the party.

A very good menu for service at five o'clock is:

Beef and vegetable broth with croutons Chocolate ice cream Angel cake	or	Chicken and noodle broth Fresh orange ice Chocolate cake

All these things which seem to the parent of no great importance, except as "breaks in routine," are practically strain-and-stress points. If the adult went to the State Fair, let us say, or made a special sightseeing tour every day and evening for a whole week, he would feel on the following Monday something of the accumulation of fatigue which the young child often feels from only one afternoon.

All children are living under an excessive strain, with the exception, perhaps, of some of those living in the country. They have ahead of them situations of great difficulty in adjustment. It is certainly the part of wisdom to exclude the strain and anxiety which attend such early festivals.

Some recent studies have shown that the actual digestive processes of children subjected to noise and excitement are changed; that much nervous indigestion in children and much trouble with regard to food are due to the fatigue of living in groups and in noisy surroundings.

The young animal is not constructed in such a way that he can stand too great a variety of stimuli. His environment must be kept simple. He is too conscious of the movements and presence of other people. A limited number, only, of fresh stimuli through the eyes, through the ears, through the muscle sense, through the sense of smell, and through the sense of taste must be selected for him, if anything like a normal, happy adjustment is to occur. Otherwise, he is either excessively over-stimulated or he becomes very blasé and refuses to respond.

Christmas, which should on account of its religious significance be a time of great beauty to the child, is in reality usually very destructive. The prolonged talk of adults, the

advertisements in the newspapers, the trips to the stores for the selection of toys and to see Santa Claus, and the cumulative excitement of the month of December, finally culminating in the two or three days of great and intense excitement preceding Christmas; then the tree, the opening of many packages, and the excitement of adults and older children often result, as everyone knows, in illness and distress for the child. Often members of the family who are strangers to the child are present at Christmas—grandparents, for instance, expect to be loved at once and feel entitled to many caresses, because they know and love the child and wish to caress him.

It is essential, especially in the case of nervous children, or children with speech defects, or children who have behavior difficulties, to reduce the Christmas strain to a minimum. A few simple presents should be the absolute maximum of excitement, plus some religious ceremony if that is the wish of the members of the family. The intense excitement attendant on a tree, a party, a dance, or the excitement over Santa Claus should be avoided.

Even the adults of the family are fatigued after Christmas. If this is true, how much more intense is the fatigue of the young child, to whom much of the play about Santa Claus is a reality. The fact that a child will wake at three or four o'clock in the morning on Christmas Day indicates the intense strain and the anticipatory excitement under which he has labored during the preceding days. It so often seems to the worker with children a great tragedy that our social attitude toward Christmas, the birthday of the Christ Child, involves the sacrifice of the child that we have under our care. Certainly this attitude is the furthest from the Christmas spirit.

Adults seem to think that it is quite justifiable to have the greatest tone of excitement in every mention of Christmas. They thoughtlessly believe, doubtless, that on this great

occasion for the child, the excitement is a great joy to him, and that the consequent over-stimulation actually gives him pleasure.

Stuttering usually becomes worse at Christmas time. Nervous sleeplessness, nightmares, and tensions of various sorts almost always reach their climax at this time, and "Christmas" usually ends in a crying spell or a tantrum of some sort. A surprising number of "nervous breakdowns" in young children, the beginning of stuttering, of tantrums and of various symptoms which in the young child indicate a beginning break in adjustment, occur at Christmas time.

This is especially true when the child goes to the home of his grandparents for Christmas or when the grandparents come to visit the home of the child. Not that the grandparents themselves are bad for him—far from it. They are usually the sanest part of the general atmosphere, but their presence is an added strain on the child who has heard about them and who has probably anticipated seeing them.

Dietary indiscretions, of course, are often an additional factor.

For the control of Christmas excitement a few rules may be given. For the child under eight years of age,

(1) There should be only one or two trips to shops to see Santa Claus or to make purchases, except to shops in the immediate neighborhood.

(2) There should be no visits to the church for special trees or special celebrations previous to the final Christmas celebration or service.

(3) There should be no parties or ceremonies in the home for the child other than those of a religious nature connected with Christmas, with the exception of the toys received on Christmas morning.

(4) There should be a minimum number of presents, preferably not more than six.

If more are given to the child, the parents should withhold them and distribute them through the year. Six may be given on Christmas day and one or two on the twenty-fifth of the month thereafter in which the child's conduct has been good. They are, in this way, used as a reward, but may be referred to as Christmas presents.

As the majority of presents are purchased by the parents, this simplification is not as difficult as it would seem. The child should be asked to supply a list of not all that he would like on Christmas, but to name one or two gifts that he would like most.

If something of the religious significance of Christmas can be given to the child—the quiet, the simplicity, the security of it, the feeling of reverence—it is a great advantage.

A boy of nine was much grieved because, of his fifteen invitations to parties over the holidays, five of them came for the same evening, and there were three each for three other evenings. It would be necessary therefore for him to go from one party to another in the limousine in order to attend all of them. This was a great disappointment to the boy, because he would necessarily miss the refreshments at some of the parties. This boy was a severe stutterer. His adjustment to the group was faulty. His state, after the Christmas orgy of parties and dances, was quite distressing.

A typical example of Christmas strain is the following: The general stimulation of the interest in Christmas began the first of December. The child of eight spent the first two weeks in December planning presents and listing what he wanted. His school work dropped off at once. His attendance began to be faulty. He slept badly and began to get up later, and there were more difficulties in discipline.

About the middle of the month he began to go to the stores. He made three trips to see Santa Claus and to make purchases. Any adult who has shopped during the last two

weeks in December knows what that meant in the way of jostling and pushing. This little fellow, being only a few feet high, got the worst of the crowd, the worst of the bad air, and the worst of the excitement and fatigue.

The day before Christmas he went to the house of grandparents whom he had never seen. He was greeted by the grandparents and a number of uncles and aunts.

On Christmas eve he went to a church celebration where he received a present and saw Santa Claus and a tree.

Christmas morning he arose at three o'clock, went to his stocking and got his various presents. By Christmas noon, of course, he was almost ready for a hospital. He was then, however, put in a car and taken to the home of the other grandparents, fifty miles distant, for the afternoon, where the performance of giving him presents was repeated.

At seven he had something comparable to a tantrum. He was so nervous he should have been put to bed in a hot pack. Instead he was spanked for his bad behavior.

The morning following Christmas he developed a severe cold. The following week he had pneumonia. This was all directly traceable to the bad management of his Christmas holidays.

Christmas is rarely free from the complication of house guests. Whether they are relatives or friends, they constitute an added stress for the child.

New people should be introduced slowly. Children should not be urged to shake hands with strangers or to hug or kiss them. And, of course, a wise adult meeting a strange child will let him alone for a little while, let him assimilate the exterior so to speak, and then venture to shake hands with him.

Furthermore, a wise adult, on meeting a strange child, will not ask questions. Just "how-do-you-do?" and perhaps shaking hands if the child extends his hand, or some word of

greeting, is ample. The adult should not feel that conversation on the part of the child is necessary. Especially should he refrain from asking the child his name, age, and the various futile and foolish questions which adults often ask—"Do you live here?" when the child is in the house; or "Are you a little girl?" when the child is named and dressed as a girl. These questions, which indicate a feeling of inadequacy on the part of the adult, are confusing and disturbing to the child and destructive to his social adjustment.

One special occasion on which the child often meets a number of adults is when the mother has a party. The child should be absolutely excluded from these parties until after his tenth year. There is no object in bringing him in. There is no pleasure to it for the adult, and there is certainly no pleasure in it for the child, although there is a great over-stimulation. Any adult who is really interested enough to want to see the child should come back when there are not so many others present. Children often go quite wild on these occasions and do all sorts of things that the parent does not like to have them do and for which they must be corrected, and yet for which they are hardly responsible, because they are in much the same state as the adult who has had too many alcoholic drinks. They are over-stimulated by the whole environment, so much so that their inhibitions are broken down and their training forgotten. This, of course, is destructive to the ordinary training of everyday life.

Children are often introduced into fairly large groups at family picnics. These occasions are exciting and overstimulating to the child, as very often rather violent exercise is taken, followed by an excessive amount of eating. At such times even the smallest children are played with, entertained, amused, and often nagged by adults in an unwarranted way.

Possibly the all-day picnic has, to a great extent, passed.

Those of us who are old enough to recall it in its prime remember that hardly one ever terminated without the children in the group getting some sort of punishment for bad behavior. The attempted afternoon nap under such circumstances was always a failure, and there were usually a number of accidents due to fatigue states. The week that followed was, of course, a very poor one as far as morale and training were concerned.

The whole question of vacations is one which should be very carefully thought out by parents. It goes without saying that the ideal vacation for the town child is a trip to the country. To be able to get out into the country and to experiment and to examine things for himself is of infinite value to him. The wise parent will not worry too much about the possibility of physical harm on these occasions. It is better even to have ivy-poisoning, or a broken arm or leg from climbing, than to have no experience, and it is certainly better to risk the possibility of a snake-bite rather than to hedge the child in an attempt to make him live a city life in the country.

Of course, most of these vacations occur with at least one of the parents, but even from a very early age it is a wise thing to *let the child have some sort of vacation away from the parents.*

One of the best places for the child's vacations is with the grandparents. Grandparents may sometimes humor children unduly, but they usually have a serenity of outlook with regard to life that is healthful and restful. They have passed through the period of great turmoil and of excessive ambition and are calmer and quieter and live in a more simple and healthful fashion than the parents are usually able to do.

Older people are a very healthful influence on the young if they do not utilize the child for their own amusement and entertainment. Of course, occasionally an older person is

found who is full of anxieties, or who is selfish and who pampers the child, and humors him because it gives him pleasure to humor him.

If the child can spend his vacation in the simpler environment of country living, where the atmosphere is quiet, where he has leisure and freedom, where he can go back to a more simple type of existence, he is the better for it the year round. When it is impossible for him to go to some member of the family, it is often possible to find kindly older people in the country who will permit the child to visit them for a time.

Of course, it is better still if there is another child near-by with whom he can play.

A discussion of the child's progress is not complete without a mention of rainy days and illness. Rainy days should be considered as holidays. The parent who gives the child a feeling of anxiety, distress, and boredom on account of the weather is doing him a great unkindness. If the rainy day is greeted cheerfully, with the attitude that it is a pleasant occasion for which special toys may have been kept in store, the child's whole life may be benefited. Many adults lose in efficiency because of their attitude toward cloudy or rainy weather. This is well worth considering, because the attitude toward the weather, toward excessive heat and excessive cold, and toward rain and cloudiness, is established in the earliest years of life.

Illness, on the other hand, should most distinctly not be made a holiday. There is entirely too much making of illnesses a very desirable break in the routine of children. It is infinitely better if the child is persuaded that although he is ill enough to be in bed he must amuse himself, or rest or relax, and that his routine must continue. He does not get well any more quickly by having his discipline broken

down. A sick person needs rest, but not humoring and amusement. If he is well enough to need amusement to keep him quiet, it should be of such a nature that he will not remember it always as the most desirable period of his life.

A great deal of the hypochondriasis and the neurasthenic attitude toward illness actually dates from some childhood sickness, which was extremely pleasant and which was made a memorable and joyous occasion. If the illnesses of childhood are made pleasant, desirable, and joyous occasions, it may give rise in later life to a markedly anxious state of mind in which slight physical ills are accentuated into what appears to be a real illness. A child should not have to wait for an illness to have his life made joyous and entertaining.

CHAPTER XI

THE MYSTERIES

Let us imagine that after a long period of semi-consciousness one emerges into clear consciousness and finds himself in a strange world. He would find himself with no memory of past experience and with a curious body the function of which he did not understand. His mental state would be one of curiosity and wonder. He would want to know where he came from, what relation his parents were to him, why they were different, and why the bodies of the sexes were different. If also there were in this strange world beings who cared for him but who at times disappeared never to return, the feeling of mystery and awe would be deepened.

And he would want to know why people dropped out of his life in this way, why loved pets—cats, birds, and dogs—ceased to play and lay still and cold.

This imaginary condition is a poor analogy for the purpose of making clear the fresh, innocent, constructive curiosity of the child towards the two great mysteries of life—birth and death. Faced with these he needs information; otherwise there may arise false ideas, misconceptions, and morbid fears which may warp his whole life.

So often parents say, "I am sure that my child is innocent and pure and clean-minded." But by this statement they mean merely that the child is ignorant of how he came into the world, and of the functions of his own body and the anatomical differences between the sexes. These are facts which every child has a right to know. But the parent who

regards the facts of procreation as established by the Creator as unclean and impure is a poor teacher. Mothers and fathers should try to recapture some of the fresh and healthy curiosity of childhood. This curiosity is constructive. Through it the child can build, if the right information be given, a conception and a philosophy that will be a bulwark against the temptations of later life. During the early years nothing takes the child's attention from the mysteries of sex and birth in such a happy way as the completest knowledge possible.

At a recent meeting of a mothers' club the speaker urged the members to give sex instruction to their children. Most of them agreed that sex instruction was necessary, but only ten out of the hundred mothers present would promise to give their children such instruction. The other ninety said that the subject was "too embarrassing and unpleasant to talk about."

It is not easy to give the facts of sex and birth in a simple and wholesome way, because of the child's limited comprehension, and because of the biological urge which intrudes itself and brings in elements of which the parent is unaware. Sex feeling, not in an adult but in an infantile sense, exists at a very early age. It has been observed that male babies show activity of the external sex organs at birth or during the first few days of life. This indicates that the brain must be registering sensation from the sex organs at this early age. And the female child shows, by the end of the first year, that sensations from the sex organs are perceived. This statement is based on the observation of not only the authors, but of others interested in child behavior.

The early appearance of sex shows how determined nature is to insure the continuance of the race. Such a large part of the energies of the normal person is included in the sex life that there is no possibility of its complete expression even

in the happiest marriage. Even then, a certain amount of the sex urge of the individual must either be suppressed or the energy guided into other directions. Therefore channels must be found whereby the child may sublimate his sex life until adulthood and marriage, and a part of his sex life always.

It is difficult to say in just what way energies may be drained from one part of life into other channels, but certainly time and energy already spent in one direction are no longer free to go in another. This is called sublimation.

Sublimation may be defined as the directing of an individual's energies in such a way that neither the direct expression of the need of preservation of the species nor the preservation of self is given undue importance. The poet or the artist who works in color and form may express his love through his work. It is not meant that the direct expression of the love life should not find an outlet when the suitable time arrives, but that other less direct outlets are needed as well.

In our present social organization, marriage is usually put off for some years after adolescence. This delay creates a situation that must be faced frankly if difficulties are to be avoided. The problem is how to train the child to sublimate his sex urges in a healthy way until maturity is reached and marriage occurs. It has been our experience that this can be done best by: (1) complete and frank sex instruction, (2) proper sleeping conditions, (3) the development of a pride in a healthy and well-developed body through organized sports, (4) organized social life so that boys and girls may be with each other freely and play together indoors and outdoors under proper supervision, and (5) special interests of various sorts, such as the Boy Scouts or Campfire Girls, and sports.

Stages of the Emotional Development

The developing love life of the child may be divided into several stages. The young infant is probably not conscious of loving anything. He has a few fundamental cravings, the one for food being the most important, and these must be satisfied. As he grows older these cravings increase in complexity and number. At first he is interested in his own cravings and his own body. It is usual to see the infant fixing his gaze on his hands and feet, and getting pleasure from sucking his fingers. In so far as he has any love capacity, it is centered on himself. His gratification is found in the satisfaction of his own needs, such as the taking of food, excretory processes, and the skin sensations.

This stage lasts in most cases for some time beyond the first year, and merges with much overlapping into the second stage, in which the individual or inanimate object which helps him in the gratification of his cravings is desirable to him, regardless of sex, age or suitability. At this stage the mother, or the nurse, and even inanimate objects such as the rattle, the ball, the doll, the bed and clothing, are the objects of his love.

The third stage comes from six to twelve. The child begins to love people outside the home. It is the beginning of the psychological weaning process. In this stage comes the first child sweetheart, or the teacher, or, sometimes, a character from a book. This is a very important stage, and the child should not be thwarted in his search to find some peg outside the home on which to hang his love.

After this comes slowly, and again with much overlapping, the fourth stage—adulthood, in which he narrows down his ideals to a mate of suitable age and status for marriage. All of the stages merge. They are not clear-cut. None is entirely outgrown.

This is an ideal program, but it often goes astray. Sometimes one stage or another is too satisfactory, and the child becomes "fixed" in it. Or there may be a tendency when life grows too hard to relapse, even in adult years, to the stage which he found most satisfactory and pleasurable.

It is commonly thought that even very small children love members of the opposite sex best. But it is not necessary to take for granted any inherited tendency toward heterosexuality in order to explain this. If one observes such relationships, he will see that some adult is usually the aggressor.

For example, the father of five children, four boys and one girl, came home one afternoon, spoke to each of the boys, and chucked the youngest one under the chin. Then he found the baby girl, aged two and a half years. This child he picked up, hugged, kissed, caressed, rubbed his cheek to her cheek, petted her, talked tenderly to her and gave her a little gift. A little neighbor boy was kissed by all his female relatives and friends, never by any man in the neighborhood with the exception of his father, although he was much admired and very much liked. Both of these incidents represent normal and healthy types of behavior when not carried to excess. But no one had to tell this little baby girl or boy in words about the direction of the love life toward members of the opposite sex.

The Giving of Sex Information

It is vital that sex information be given at the right time. It is usually stated that a child should be given sex information as soon as he asks questions regarding it. We feel that *the time to give sex information is before he questions, rather than after.* For when the child questions, his emotions concerning sex have very probably already been somewhat aroused. Before this time, sex information can be given and

received as is any other casual piece of information; therefore complete information as to the function of both sexes should be given, we believe, as soon as the child has the "*intellectual*" capacity to understand it. It is always safer to give it too soon rather than too late.

If the child asks a question and is given a little information, then questions again and is given more information, the habit is being established in him of thinking all the time about sex. If he is told as quickly and as completely as possible as much of the process as he is capable of understanding, then when the emotions come, they will be built up *around the correct information.*

Not more than ten years ago it used to be the custom to wait until adolescence to give sex instruction, as it was felt that the child was not ready for it emotionally until this time. The one question to be asked is this: "Is the child intellectually able to comprehend the facts that are being told him?" If he is given the facts early enough, the emotional side will take care of itself.

Very often the child apparently understands very little of what is told him; he may question again, covering the same ground. Sometimes this is for reassurance. Sometimes the information has been too complex for him to understand, but no harm is done by giving it prematurely, and often much more is comprehended than appears to be. It is there, at least, in the reservoir of the subconscious mind, to be drawn on at need, and to block off false conceptions and ideas.

It is not adequate to give a child information about the female sex only. The harm caused by such inadequate knowledge is illustrated by the case of a boy of eight who developed a very severe stutter. His mother was under the impression that she had given her boy complete sex information. She had taught him that the baby was carried in her body, but she had never taught him the male part of procreation. One day

when his mother was nursing the newest baby, he said, "What 's the use of being a father? All you do when you 're a father is pay the rent." She was fixing, very rapidly and very unfortunately, a desire on the boy's part to be a female, a desire which might have been very destructive in his later life had it not been checked.

The discretion of the child is often an important point. One woman said, "I am afraid to talk to my child about sex because she is not discreet. She will invariably tell whatever I tell her." But a child's discretion is increased and not decreased by correct information. Some people say, "My neighbors will object if I tell my child about sex, for he will tell the other children." If that is true and you cannot change your neighbors' point of view or are not willing to ignore it, then the best thing to do is to move. The child's mental health should not be endangered because of foolish neighbors; and after all the question is not "Will the child have information?" but "Will he have the correct information?"

Much fantasy in later life, much distress, much breakdown, are due to false information given by others or false conceptions figured out by the child for himself. The idea that impregnation is caused by swallowing something, or by contact such as shaking hands or kissing, is very common. Delivery by the urinary tract, delivery by mouth, by anus, by cesarian section, are all ways that have been figured out by uninformed children. And these ideas held early and then suppressed into the unconscious mind may do very great harm.

The question as to who should give sex information is important. Naturally, it is the duty of the parents, and the task should be shared equally by both mother and father. Here is the opportunity for parents to create in their children a feeling of confidence that will be helpful in future training. Telling the child that he was brought by the doctor or by a stork, or was found in a hollow stump, creates in the child a

lack of confidence in and often a real feeling of antagonism for the parents.

In the giving of sex information the first point to be considered is the attitude with which it is given. It is best to avoid sentiment when giving sex information. The mother who takes her child in her lap and tells with emotion the story of the baby who is carried under her heart is likely to create in the child an over-emotionalism toward sex. Nor is it wise to discuss the mystery of procreation in connection with religion. Religious instruction should be given separately. If the two are given together, and the child should happen to develop a morbid attitude towards one, this feeling might be transferred over to the other as well. Nor is it helpful to use analogies about the fertilization of flowers. The fertilization of flowers is a mystery in itself, and it does not help to explain one mystery to propound another. Sex instruction should be given so calmly, so simply, so unemotionally that the child will accept the facts just as he does those about the taking of food, or of any other normal function.

The matter of sex should be treated just as calmly as though the child should say, "Mother, where does the bread come from?" The mother might reply, "Bread comes from wheat. Wheat is a little grain about so big. People plant it in the ground where it stays for a long time, and finally the grain sends up a stalk like a blade of grass, and on top of this stalk grow scores and scores of wheat grains. Then they cut it down and put it in a mill and get the wheat grains out, grind the grain, take out the husks, and then we have white flour. The baker then takes the flour, mixes it with certain things and cooks it in the oven. That is how we get our bread."

If sex information were given as unemotionally as this explanation of the origin of bread, a great many morbid conflicts and unhappy attitudes of childhood would be avoided.

Summer time in the country is the golden time for teaching the fundamental facts of life. Here are growing things, animals procreating, bringing forth and suckling their young. When the parents see an animal about to bring forth young, they can casually mention the fact. Then when the animals are born, it should again be mentioned that the baby animal came out of the mother's body. The facts should be so clearly presented that no doubt is left in the child's mind.

If a child lives on a farm, he observes the facts of procreation and rarely asks how the young animal got into the mother's body. But if the child does ask this question, it should be promptly and simply and unemotionally answered: "The father planted the seeds in the mother's body." If the child should then ask how, he may be given this information. There are some parents who do not feel that the male part of the procreation should be told the child, or who have such inhibitions that they cannot tell it. In such cases it is best to have someone with the right attitude give the information, or the child can be placed on a farm for several summers where he can learn the fundamental facts of sex from the life about him.

The coming of a new baby in the home is another suitable time for the giving of sex information. The child should be told that the mother is carrying a baby in her body, and the part of the father in its procreation should be told. This knowledge serves a double function. It gives the child some knowledge of the mystery of birth and life, and it arouses his interest and love for the coming baby.

Many parents are so full of inhibitions that it is impossible for them to give sex instruction with a calm and casual attitude. In such cases it is wisest for the parent to let someone else do it—some well-trained adult who has the right attitude and the chance to make casual contacts with the child.

Sleeping Arrangements of the Child

There are certain definite rules that should be followed with regard to the sleeping arrangements of the child. One of these is that he shall sleep in a bed alone, and, if possible, in a room alone.

No child should sleep in the room with adult or adolescent members of the opposite sex after the third year. No child should sleep in the room with both parents beyond the second year.

The parents very often say, "But the child does not understand what he is seeing. How could it disturb him?" The very fact that he does not understand is a destructive element, because he has no alternative other than to interpret what he sees on a basis of what he has been told or has experienced. Hence, he misinterprets! As has been said, sleep is a more or less voluntary exclusion of stimuli, and nightmares are often caused by misinterpretation of things perceived during light sleep.

One finds boys as old as sixteen and seventeen sleeping with the mother; girls as old as fifteen and sixteen sleeping with the father. In one case, we saw a brother and sister, who had slept together since infancy, still sleeping together at the age of seventeen, although each had his own room and there were, in addition, several extra rooms in the house.

A girl of twelve had slept in her father's bed all her life. When her parents were advised against this custom, she was put in a separate room. Here she developed severe sleep-walking attacks. She walked in her sleep every night, and the direction in which she walked indicated fairly well the genesis of the disorder, for she returned at once to her father's bed.

When the door to her father's room was shut and locked

from the inside, she walked into the hall, where she had a very bad nightmare, until her father came to her rescue. One night she walked out of her room and, finding her father's door locked, went out of the house and up the street. She was rescued by neighbors and returned to her parents. They had not wished to lock her in her own room, for they did not wish her to feel that she was in any sense a captive. After this, however, for her safety she was locked in her room. There she developed very bad nightmares, screaming so violently that neither the family nor the neighbors could sleep. All of this peculiar behavior could be traced directly to the custom of having her sleep with her father.

This girl had a very severe stutter and a spasmodic sucking movement that very nearly incapacitated her for ordinary life, and especially for school life.

Sex Tension

The chief indications of sex tension are excessive fondling by the child of other children or of the parents, cruelty to other children and to animals, anxiety to be near the parents all the time, especially at night, unprovoked tantrums, excessive masturbation, bedwetting, and especially moroseness and night terrors.

These must then be handled at once as definite symptoms, usually by the giving of more information and a change in routine.

The best hygiene requires correct sex information, less fondling, a bed in a room alone, and friends outside of the home. Parents often cut children off from friendships to avoid sex difficulties. It is wise to avoid contacts with children poorly trained, but other friends of the right sort may be provided. Morbid attitudes occur when children are denied playmates and are forced to play alone.

Unwholesome Habits

One of the unwholesome habits found in childhood is masturbation. Masturbation may be defined as the manipulation of the sex organs for the purpose of obtaining a pleasurable sensation.

Masturbation has been found unserviceable to the race, and is a strict "tabu." Because of this profound and fundamental racial feeling against it, it has been condemned from a moral and physical standpoint. To eradicate the habit of masturbation in children, parents should know just what it means and just wherein the danger lies.

The danger in masturbation lies not so much in the possibility of injury to the individual as in its unserviceability to the race. It means that the individual is obtaining satisfaction within himself, and if continued beyond childhood, it interferes with his adjustment to the group. The real danger in masturbation is that it establishes a vicious circle, so that the egocentric state of childhood is prolonged into adulthood and endangers the capacity to mate and carry on the race. In general, only those persons continue masturbation who have become fixed in, or who have reverted to, the first love stage, where the child is in love with himself and his own body.

Masturbation is a much more common practice in children than most parents realize. Dr. Katherine Bement Davis,[1] secretary of the Bureau of Social Hygiene, recently sent out a questionnaire concerning masturbation to a group of married and unmarried American college women. One thousand, one hundred and eighty-three anonymous answers were received. Two-thirds of this group of college women admitted masturbation. From surveys made by various physicians among men college students, it was found that from seventy to ninety per cent had practiced masturbation.

[1] *Mental Hygiene*, Vol. VIII, No. 3, July, 1924, page 668.

Many parents are surprised to know at what an early age masturbation often begins. Dr. Robert L. Dickinson and Dr. Henry H. Pierson,[1] commenting on the facts brought out by Dr. Davis' survey and other investigations, make this statement: Among the women admitting masturbation "the practice commenced for the most part between the ages of five and eleven (forty-two per cent), that is, well in advance of puberty; while before reaching sixteen nearly sixty per cent of those practicing had begun. The mode or peak of the beginnings is at the eighth year. Herein lies a notable contrast between the two sexes, since three-fourths of the males start between twelve and seventeen." The authors go on to say that these new facts show the need of beginning sex instruction before five years of age.

Most children go through a period of masturbation. Often this is not recognized, especially in females, because it is only partial or largely takes place as an erotic day-dream.

If masturbation is as wide-spread as it has been shown to be, it is obvious that it cannot cause the physical and mental degeneracy that is often ascribed to it.

What has been said should not be considered as a defense of masturbation, nor do we wish to minimize it unduly. *It should be considered as an unwholesome and unserviceable habit, but it should not be regarded as causing serious mental and nervous disease.* Masturbation never causes (1) insanity, (2) feeble-mindedness, or (3) nervous breakdowns. Feeble-minded children and adults and insane people often masturbate. Because of this, it has been commonly thought that masturbation was the cause of the feeble-mindedness and insanity. The opposite is true. The abnormal mental condition causes the masturbation, not the masturbation the abnormal state.

1 "The Average Sex Life of American Women," *Journal of American Medical Association*, Vol. 85, No. 15, October 10, 1925, page 1113.

Masturbation should be presented to the child as something belonging to early childhood and so to be sloughed off. It should be frankly discussed between the parent and the child, and without emotion. In this way the parents may avoid the distress of the child over the situation, and give him the spiritual freedom necessary to rid himself of this habit if it has a hold on him. He must be told that it is to be outgrown and controlled as part of his developing manhood.

The evil results of false information about masturbation are well illustrated by the case of a young man who came for treatment to a hospital for nervous diseases. He was nineteen years old, and was a member of his college football team. During one of the games he wrenched his back and had to be taken from the field. The next day he was unable to walk, and he was taken to the local hospital. No injury of the back was found. The condition seemed to be due to some emotional state, and the boy was sent to the special hospital for study.

During the study it was found that when the boy was about ten years old he had been discovered masturbating by his father, who had told him that the practice would cause his backbone to soften and decay. The boy masturbated infrequently from ten to fifteen, then he stopped the practice altogether, but the fear was constantly with him that perhaps he had irretrievably injured his back. Every time that he felt a pain there, he feared that the degeneration of his spine had begun.

When he received the injury on the football field, he had a feeling that now at last his sins had found him out. He was hopeless, and felt that death was near. He said that when he came to the special hospital he firmly expected to be told that he could live but a short time. After the matter had been talked over with the boy for three days, he recovered, and left

the hospital completely well and very happy because the haunting fear had been removed.

Masturbation is sometimes an indication that the child is under too great tension, due to inconsistent discipline and unwise pressure in the home. Excessive masturbation may be indicative of a faulty routine in the same way that tantrums or nightmares are. The case of Susan, aged three years, is of this type.

Susan's mother was a high strung, nervous woman who lacked calmness and poise. Susan was allowed to do as she pleased until what she was doing irritated her mother, and then she received a harsh scolding or a severe spanking. She was allowed too much freedom at one time, and at other times she was nagged and thwarted. She began to have temper tantrums and to talk in her sleep. Then it was noticed that she was masturbating frequently. She masturbated in the morning on awakening, and sometimes she stopped her play and masturbated. She developed a marked fatigue state, often falling asleep at her play; there were frequent crying spells which had no obvious cause.

To stop the masturbation it was necessary to change the mother's method of discipline. Few commands were given, and these were firmly enforced. The mother trained herself to be calm and consistent in her treatment of Susan. A playroom was furnished where she could play without interference. Sleeping hours were increased, a good diet was provided, and the child was given a bed in a room alone. Nothing was said about the masturbation itself. A year later the mother reports that the child does not masturbate at all.

Another case is that of a girl four and a half years of age. This little girl was precocious in her sex development, and possibly the increased stimuli from the sex organs were the cause of the masturbation. Instead of treating the matter

calmly and trying to shift the child's attention to more healthy interests, the mother became nervous and alarmed. She talked to the child frequently about the terrible results, moral and physical, of masturbation. The child had to wear aluminum mitts during the night, and this was continued for six months. This device did not prevent masturbation, and the mother took the child into her bed so she could observe and correct her if she masturbated. Almost every night the child was scolded and often spanked. The more anxious the mother became and the more she scolded and punished, the worse the habit became. The child was watched constantly; she was not allowed to play with other children because it was thought that she had acquired the habit from a playmate.

It was suggested that the mother change her attitude. She was not to speak about the masturbation. She was to allow the child to play freely with other children, and she was to send her to a nursery school. No devices for binding her hands were to be used at any time. The child was to sleep in a quiet, cool room alone. The mother was to conceal her anxiety. She remonstrated that she could not let the child sleep alone and ignore the terrible habit. Her attention was called to the fact that her present method had not succeeded, and she was urged at least to try out the plan.

A year later the mother said, "Ruth is getting along splendidly. She masturbates only about once in three weeks as far as I can observe, and this is always when she is half-awake in the morning. I am so relieved, because I was afraid she would lose her mind and become an imbecile. I think the change in my attitude has been the chief cause for the almost complete cure of the masturbation. I am sure it will soon be cured altogether."

One case treated most unwisely was that of a boy of eight whose hands and legs were tied to the bed during the night. This continued for more than a year. The child was not

allowed to play with other children, and he was kept alone on the porch so the mother could watch him through the window to see that he did not masturbate. As a result of this treatment, the child grew worse and worse. By changing the family attitude, by allowing the boy more free play, and by treating the matter calmly, the masturbation was soon stopped.

A child should never be told that feeble-mindedness, insanity, or nervous breakdown will result from masturbation. We do not wish to dogmatize, but it is our experience that it is also unwise to threaten children with divine punishment in order to stop the habit. The parent should keep a calm and sane attitude towards the matter. In most cases it is sufficient to say to the child that now that he is no longer a baby he should cease acting like a baby. If this does not suffice, he should be examined by the physician to see if there is a tight foreskin in the male or an irritation of the clitoris in the female. Plenty of water should be given so the urine will not be too concentrated, clothing that may rub the genitals should be avoided, the diet should be adequate, the right amount of sleep should be enforced, undue fatigue should be avoided, free play with other children should be provided, and finally the discipline should be such that the child is not allowed to dominate the household and at the same time is not being thwarted and nagged. Sex instruction should be given. The child's attention should not be centered on the habit by the alarm and anxiety of the parent.

The Development of Modesty

Very young children have no sense of modesty as regards their bodies, and it is sometimes rather difficult to make them realize that they must be properly clothed without making them feel that the unclothed body is something to be ashamed of. Children up to three or four years of age show themselves

unclothed quite freely. As they begin to realize that they get attention from appearing without clothes, they seem to enjoy it.

A little girl of three, left in the bathroom alone for a moment, slipped out of the room and without any clothes on came downstairs to the porch filled with summer guests, and invited them all up to see her take her bath. During a party a pair of girl twins aged three got out of bed, pulled off their pajamas with some difficulty, and slipping past the nurse came downstairs to be with the guests.

When children do things like this, they should be met neither with amused smiles, nor with scolding. It is best for the mother to say in a calm tone, "Come back at once into your room." Later she should say, "You must not go out without your clothes on. Only babies may be seen naked." There the matter should end; there should be no prolonged talks or scolding. If a child continues to appear without clothes or to pull off his clothes in public, the psychological environment cannot be healthy, or the parents have been overanxious to teach the child modesty, and have paid too much attention to childish offenses.

It is to be expected that children will be curious about their bodies, and the difference between the bodies of the opposite sexes. It is good sex hygiene for brothers and sisters to see each other quite freely in the bath until the age of four or five. Parents may undress freely before children of the same sex. Fathers and sons and mothers and daughters may go in swimming and use the same dressing rooms. When children ask why they differ from adults or from the opposite sex, they should be answered frankly.

Children of the opposite sex quite often satisfy their curiosity by mutually inspecting each other. In a child of four or five this should not be regarded as an unclean, impure act, for it is caused by a perfectly normal, healthy curiosity. When

parents observe children inspecting each other, they may take advantage of the situation to say, "John, you have seen how girls are made. It is not necessary now for you to do this again."

An unwise way of meeting the situation came to our attention some time ago. A sensitive, nervous boy three and a half years of age, an only child, was found with a neighbor girl of the same age. They had been looking at each other's bodies. The mother of the girl said to the boy, "You dirty-minded, naughty little boy! You go home and never come here to play again." The girl was taken into the house and given a whipping.

The boy came home to his mother crying bitterly. "Am I a bad little boy?" he asked. "What did I do that was so bad?" And for some time afterwards he would come to his mother and say, "Mamma, am I a bad little boy?"

This is a perfect example of how not to handle such a situation. In fact, it is difficult not to feel indignant toward a mother with so little understanding.

The Family Romance

Many children go through a period in which they do not believe that they are true members of their families. This may indicate that things are not running smoothly between mother and daughter or between father and son. Often it is an indication that the child is beginning to wean himself from his childhood ties. This is not an especially healthy method of self-weaning, and may develop into a destructive type of fantasy.

With adopted children this should absolutely be forestalled. It is not enough that the child who is adopted be told that he was not born in his present family. However much he may appreciate the fact of his having been deliberately chosen,

this fact is not adequate. If it is possible, he must be told what type of people he is descended from, and given as good a picture of their personalities as possible.

When this cannot be done, he should be told frankly that nothing is known of his people except that they were decent and honest. He should then be given very special knowledge of the race from which he is sprung, their history and habits. Even with the young child, this can be given if it is told in the form of a story. Children are very interested in pioneer and frontier stories, and in tales of immigrations. It is essential for the true happiness of each individual that he think of himself as an integral part of some human group, and his adopted group is not adequate by itself. If his parentage is a mystery, then his racial group must be made a reality.

When adopted children are not told early about their adoption, there often springs up a reticence on the subject which is very difficult to overcome. It often ruins for the child what would otherwise be a very happy relationship.

Much harm is also done to adopted children whose own parents were not married, by a perpetual fear on the part of the foster-parent, even though unexpressed, that the child will be especially weak in regard to sex control. This is absurd when one remembers that exactly the same "amount of sex"—and no more—is required for procreation outside as inside of wedlock. A child of an illegitimate union is as capable of training as a legitimate child. If the stock is strong and untainted with feeble-mindedness, there is no more cause to fear for the future of an adopted than of an own child, and suspicion, anxiety, and lack of trust will only cause what one fears.

The Mystery of Death

We say that childhood should be happy; that it should be free from the "great shadow of death," without realizing

how stupid is any such conception of a child's capacity for observation. This great shadow does hover over him; he sees that it hovers; his pets die; he knows of individuals in the family who have gone away; he sees, always, people disappearing out of his view never to return.

If you can conceive of yourself in such a situation, seeing people withdrawn from your environment and knowing nothing of them except the grief of those who are left, you can form some conception of the position of the child.

When he has been told all that is known, there will still remain the great mystery, but at least much of the complex and terrifying part of it may be simplified if what is known is presented in an absolutely frank way. He must be told first the physical facts about death; not half truths nor distorted truths—they are harmful.

This is illustrated by a child who was suffering from disturbed sleep. She refused to go to sleep at night until she was completely exhausted. She screamed if her mother left the room, and lay with her eyes wide open until her fatigue overcame her.

At about the time the disorder had started the little girl had come to her mother and said, "Mother, what happens when they put you in the big, round hole in the ground?" Only a few days before the mother of one of this child's playmates had died, and this day, for the first time since her death, the two little girls had again been playing together.

The mother had thought that that was the time to be frank with her about death and had said to her, "They do not put you into a big, round hole; they put you into a long, narrow hole. It is like this—you close your eyes just as though you were asleep. They fold your hands upon your breast and put a flower in them. Then they put you in a box, nail down the top of the box, and put you in the long, narrow hole

and put the dirt in on top of you. It is just as though you were asleep, dearest."

This mother considered that she had told her child the truth about death. What she had told her was the truth about premature burial—the terror of the race from the dawn of time. The main fact about death, which as far as we know is insensibility to all sensation, had been omitted, and the child had naturally been afraid to close her eyes at night for fear some adult might fold her hands upon her breast and put her in the long, narrow hole.

In addition to the actual physical facts about death which should have been imparted to the child, then was the time, if ever, to give her some philosophy of death. It is on such an occasion that the great comfort of religious truths may be given to the child, especially that which pertains to the Resurrection. And even if the parent has no religious beliefs, there are certain pantheistic philosophies which he may present—that one sleeps in the ground, that one returns in the form of a flower, that one nourishes the world in general; and while these may not be so satisfactory to the child as the feeling that he carries on, as it were, in an individual form, it still is a comfort to him to have a philosophy of some sort.

But birth and death are not the only mysteries. Analyzed from the standpoint of a child, there are very many natural facts just as wonderful.

We are prone to think of children as not needing facts, or at least as needing as few of them as possible. Children do need, when they are put into this strange and terrifying world, all the facts available to their understanding, and all of the philosophy which makes this difficult situation endurable. It is this postponement of the giving of the philosophy of things —the philosophy of group living, the philosophy of life, the philosophy of death, the philosophy of birth, and the phi-

losophy of love—that is destructive to the calmness and poise which we wish to develop. It is the lack of these philosophies that does so much harm, that gets such distorted ideas into the heads of children, because they will develop their own philosophies, their own ideas of the natural sciences, of birth, of love, and of death; and these, due to their lack of information, are bound to be faulty. Our own are faulty enough. We should at least give children, in their formative period, those facts which will help them to develop willingness and a capacity for meeting the situations of life.

In response to this need, it is essential that the natural sciences be taught a child early; reading, writing, and arithmetic—the three R's and all that goes with them—are relatively unimportant to him compared to the facts of life and of the world with which he is faced.

The parents' attitude toward life is a fundamental factor. The parents who can no longer marvel at the cow for giving milk, or at the sap for rising in the spring, who cannot be awed by the thought that all the stars in the Milky Way are only a small bit of the great universe, are too old and unimaginative to rear a child. *The crying need is not for more parents who are able to send their children through college, but for more parents with simplicity of outlook and an unspoiled, unsated appetite for the facts that surround them.*

A child, a garden, and a wise adult may constitute a complete university. The facts of how the flower comes from the bulb do not lessen the mystery of it a bit, and will not matter so long as we let the wonder of it remain in the mind of the child.

There are many things that can be classed as mysteries that come into the life of the child—natural facts, fairies, ghosts, and stories of Santa Claus, and so on. Adults must simplify their own outlook—take themselves back to the early attitude of the race, and slough off their egoistic "cocksureness." If

the parent can explain successfully why a bleached plant turns green in the light, the fairies will come easy to him. Perhaps there is even a Santa Claus. His coming down the chimney is not half so strange as milk coming from cows who eat only grass. Just because we "made up" Santa Claus is no reason why he may not be true. We "made up" the atom and the molecule also.

We do not feel that either *Mother Goose* or the fairy stories are harmful. *Jack and the Beanstalk* is not likely to teach a clever child to sell a cow stupidly for a hat full of beans, nor to teach him to take others' property. It is the elders and not the youngsters who take fairy tales seriously. Fairy-giant land has its own laws and its own tabus, and the child soon realizes that they do not coincide with ours—perhaps they even teach him tolerance of other standards and the rights of others to hold opposing views. Even many of the "bloody" fairy tales carry so little connotation to the child's mind that they do little harm.

Cinderella is the great "escape dream" of the world. All of us, if we are fortunate, may dance with the Prince, and even the lowliest Cinderella may have her high moments of pleasure. It is the theme of most of our plays and novels.

It is difficult to have sympathy with people who are always on the lookout for the "moral" in the story—censorship in a new form! But for those determined to present only "worth while" material, may not *Cinderella* be presented as the myth of the Vernal Equinox, or the exalting of life after a winter of ashes and unhappiness? It is only when we attempt to face life on a Cinderella basis that harm is done.

Life is difficult at its best, and while we bear no brief for ghosts, and ghouls, and bogie men, nor for any figure used to "frighten" children into being good, we do feel that it is possible in our efforts to attain "truth" to rob life of many essential experiences. The "unpleasant" facts of life will

reach the child eventually, and it is better to have them reach him while he is still in a position to have them interpreted to him by a friendly guide. A child would better be told about ghosts from an adult *who had no fear of them,* than from some other child or person who told him of them with half belief.

After all, it is possible to face anything with a child if our own attitude is right, but it is essential that we think in terms of his capacity to understand, and that we do not under-rate his intelligence. To see through the child's eyes, approach from his standpoint, touch with his fingers, question with his mind—that is the basis of understanding. The father or mother who has not this capacity is not a parent—only an adult of the species, who has procreated.

CHAPTER XII

LEARNING TO ADJUST TO THE GROUP

No king of the ancient world, not even one who considered himself to be a god, was ever cared for as is the infant. For the first fifteen or eighteen months of life, his every want is satisfied. The comforts and even the health of the adults are sacrified for the needs of the child. As a result of this treatment, he is supremely self-centered at the age of eighteen months or two years.

As the child emerges from the helplessness of infancy, he comes in conflict with the desires and needs of his brothers, sisters, parents, and other adults who may surround him. His individual desires and wants which conflict with the demands of the group must be adjusted; thus the first hard lesson of life is being learned. An understanding of this fundamental conflict in the life of every child helps us to understand the behavior of children and gives us an insight into the methods of training which should be employed.

His adjustment and his surroundings may be expressed as a conflict because in society, as it is now organized, every individual has two primary necessities: first, to live with others of his kind for the purposes of protection and for the opportunity of meeting a mate; second, to stand out as an individual for his own protection and in order to be able to attract a mate. He has certain definite rights and duties to himself as an individual, but his greatest problem is to learn to adjust his own individuality and his desires to the necessities of the group. It is this group adjustment which in the

past usually has had to be learned in a casual and undirected way.

The conflict between the desires of the individual and the demands of the group is responsible for many "nervous breakdowns." It is only by the most delicate type of adjustment that we may live in comfort in the present group arrangement.

The child is born without knowledge of how to make this adjustment. It is often assumed that he has an inherent knowledge of how to develop his own ego; instead, it must be painfully learned.

In addition to the difficulties involved in the conflicting necessities of the group and the individual, the necessities and standards of the group are always changing. The moral behavior of one generation is often the immoral behavior of the next, and, conversely, the moral behavior of one generation may be the immoral behavior of the next. The attitude of succeeding generations toward the use of alcohol as a beverage is perhaps the most obvious illustration.

It is assumed that the child must submit to the demands of brothers, sisters, parents and teachers. But it is just as necessary that he find an outlet for his own desires. The parent has two duties: (1) He must teach the child to what extent he must subordinate his own wishes and needs to the wishes and desires and needs of the group, and (2) he must teach him how far he may go in satisfying his own wishes. To what point may he stand up for his own right? How far may he assert himself? When should he acquiesce to the demands of others and modify his own wishes at the request of others?

Jenny was a small Southern girl who was brought up on a plantation, surrounded by adoring mammies as well as parents, aunts, uncles, and grandparents. In such an atmosphere a child was sure to get an exalted view of her own importance, especially as she had only to cry for something loud enough

and long enough in order to get it. There were occasions when she cried for things that could not be given her, or for no reason at all. At such times, when there was no petting her out of her tantrum, someone would say, "Take her out and put her upon the horse—maybe that will pacify her," or, "Take her down to the big gate where she can see the wagons go by—maybe *that* will pacify her," or if that failed to work, "Give her a lump of sugar—maybe that will pacify her."

This type of indulgence continued until one day when no one in the family was inventive, and, in the midst of intense crying, the child herself called out, "Give me a lump of sugar —maybe that will pacify me," and as everyone was too amazed to respond she paused long enough to say "Take me out and put me up on the horse—maybe that will pacify me," and continued to scream. This scene gave the parents a realization of the mistake they were making in her training, and fortunately for her, they changed their type of response to her crying.

If the child is allowed to become too self-centered, so that he demands what he wants regardless of the rights of others, he will be in continual conflict with other people and will develop a bellicose and over-aggressive attitude and will probably feel that people are never fair to him. Many individuals never get what they feel to be their just dues because they expect too much from life and demand that other people give way to them more than can ever be possible.

Authority is the way by which the child is taught the demands of the group. But if authority is thrust too harshly upon him, if he has insufficient outlets for his own desires, he becomes anxious, worried, and timid, or he over-reacts and becomes negative, stubborn, and quarrelsome.

Authority serves two purposes. While it is the means by which the child is taught to adjust himself to the group, it is

the means by which he is taught also to what extent he may express his own wishes and desires. True authority is not oppressive; it gives a sense of security and happiness, because it teaches the child just how far he may go. It teaches him his place in the group, and teaches him to prevent the group from trampling him under foot, psychologically. It is only when the child has learned to balance his own wishes against the needs of the group, and has been taught to find self-expression in a way that is not only satisfactory but helpful to the group, that he may be said to be a healthy and happy individual.

A great deal of the repression of the child which goes under the name of authority is quite unnecessary and actually harmful. The great majority of negative commands given to the child could be avoided if the parent would take the time to devise some means whereby he could find some outlet for his desires in a way that is not offensive to other people. This does not mean that when a child has broken a law he should be distracted rather than punished, but it does mean that often it is possible to train him to express himself in a way that is entirely satisfactory to the group. Every child, for example, wants to "show off." He wants to exhibit himself, and if this tendency is not considered, he may be seen turning somersaults, sticking out his tongue, making grimaces, or knocking things over in the room in an effort to get attention when strangers are present. He might better have been taught to "show off" by doing some useful labor, such as passing cakes at tea; or, when the family gathers in the evening, by helping to build the fire; or helping mother with the dishes or father with the car during the day.

A five-year-old boy was busying himself "helping" his father repair the car. The father had his tools all laid out on a table, and the little boy, in his eagerness to help, kept bringing one to him which he did not need. Every time the

child did this the father reprimanded him harshly and insisted that he take the tool back and put it where he found it. Finally when the father wanted a hammer and found that it had been misplaced, he grew quite angry and slapped the boy who began to cry and went, weeping bitterly, into the house.

The perverted idea of authority that the child must have had from this contact with his father can easily be imagined. It is rare to find a parent quite so stupid and lacking in understanding as this one was, but the case shows how the natural, healthy activity of the child can be misdirected instead of being wisely used. Some way should have been found to make use of this boy's desire to serve, and if, in his eagerness, he did mix the tools, it should have been overlooked for the sake of the training in co-operation that he was receiving. In most cases it is possible, if thought is taken, to use the activities of the child in a way that gives him pleasure and at the same time is helpful to adults.

Again it must be emphasized that it is essential that definite training both in expression of the self and adjustment to the group be undertaken from the start. The latter must be stressed more strongly because the child's training is already in the direction of the expression of his ego.

Regularity of hours, usually thought of in connection with his physical hygiene, may be made to conform to the necessities of the people of the house. His hours should be considered both from the point of view of his own hygiene and from that of the pleasure and normal life of the family. For instance, he should be taught to continue to sleep, when it is necessary, although others are awake. He should be required to adapt himself to small, necessary changes in his routine. If the water of his bath is not quite the same temperature always, or his food is not given in quite the same way, or not quite

to his pleasure, he should be required nevertheless to accept the conditions.

In other words, the child should not be permitted to dominate at this period just because he is the smallest member of the family and because of his appeal to the maternal feeling. Even before he can walk, there are very definite ways in which his "group training" may be carried on. Teaching him to hold his own toys and not throw them for others to pick up may be begun even then, and also helping to hold his own milk bottle. From the time that he can walk, there are many ways in which this training can be carried on.

In order to teach the child adjustment to the group, special equipment is not needed. What is needed is a special attitude, a capacity for perceiving those situations in which this adjustment is practised.

From the point of view of group adjustment the learning of speech is of primary importance because it is more comfortable for others to have the child talk than to have him cry for what he wants. And he must learn that the control of his anger is for the welfare of the group, as well as of himself. He must learn the care of his own property, in order that other members of the group may be relieved of this necessity. This lesson is often postponed by parents because it is so much easier to do a task oneself than to train a child to do it.

The care of common property, often one of the most neglected fields, is one of the best from the standpoint of training, and after he has, to a certain extent, mastered the art of caring for his own things, he should be assigned a special "communal" task, something which is serviceable to the group as well as to himself. This training may begin even before the second birthday. The simplest of these tasks is the picking up of newspapers in the living rooms. The

newspapers cannot be hurt in the handling, and picking them up in no way taxes his physical capacity. Of course, the parent should work with the child. He cannot even finish the job alone, as his memory span is absurdly short. Nor can he remember to do this task from day to day. But if he is led to it, praised while he is picking up the papers, and frequent mention is made of his reliability and accomplishment, he will gradually develop a sense of responsibility toward the task. In this connection, however, he should not be told that he is "helping mother," but that he is picking up the papers for all the family, as his special duty.

The care of his own toilet articles can be added next. Every child should have his own "dresser," if it is only the crudest board with a mirror above it placed at the correct height. On this dresser should be his own nail-file, comb, and brush, which should be scrupulously regarded as his by the rest of the family. At this time he should begin to care for his own towel and washcloth.

He may soon begin to take care of the dresser drawer in which his own articles of clothing are kept, and, later, to set his own table in the nursery, placing on it his cup and saucer, which should be selected of such material that if they are broken no great harm is done.

By the time he is three, the care of some of his own things should be fairly well established as his own job, and he should have a certain number of community duties as well. These may gradually be increased. His special task in the living room may be to pull the curtains to a certain point, or it may be his job to bring in the milk bottles, or to help carry the kindling. These are small and insignificant duties, but they give the young child a sense of responsibility and, above all, a satisfaction in accomplishment, a feeling of being necessary and serviceable.

A boy of three had a very severe stutter and a very peculiar

behavior reaction after the birth of his little sister. When we began to study the behavior of the child, it was discovered that he had a way of saying to his mother, "Get up and get me my breakfast; I am ready for it now," or "Hand me my milk bottle." Once, when his mother left for the "movies" he said, "You stay here and take care of me; that 's what mothers are for." Such an attitude on the part of a child of three was certainly not funny, although it was laughed at by some members of the family. The obvious, old-fashioned method would have been to spank this boy for insolence, but that would not have modified the real, fundamental trouble.

The mother was advised, when he said to her "Get up and get me my breakfast" to reply, "Yes, I'll do that. That is part of my job. You go bring me the milk bottle. That 's part of your job. Everybody around here has his own job."

This boy was given three distinct tasks to do, although, of course, at his age it was necessary to remind him of them each time. He was much praised because he did them, and they, rather than his bad manners and impudence, were emphasized. He had been permitted to develop a sort of kingship over the family, without any of the responsibilities, control and training of kingship that goes into the real job.

Servants in the house complicate the training of a child in a great many ways, although in many ways they are a great advantage. It should be arranged that among the child's little tasks there shall be some that will be special services for the servants, for it is fundamentally wrong, whatever may be the parent's opinion of democracy, to permit a child to feel that there is any selected group of individuals in the world that owes a responsibility to him but to which he, in turn, owes no responsibility. He does not understand at this age that money, board and lodging constitute payment: he can comprehend return only in kind.

From the third to the fifth year the training in group

service may become more complex. He may be given duties such as bathing himself, dressing himself, hanging up his own clothes, assisting in the sorting and listing of his own laundry, or at the counting and replacing of the clean linen of the family, and assisting at mending his own clothes. He may select the buttons, or find the spool of the correct color and weight of thread, and sit by while the job is being done.

Aside from being of benefit as a gradual assumption of the duties of life, these small tasks on the part of the child teach him responsibility toward property and especially toward the property produced by other people. The feeling that a person can "pay" for anything he destroys, without realizing that property once destroyed can, in a sense, never be replaced, is very destructive to the group morale.

The fact that the child should learn between the ages of three and five to dress himself cannot be over-stressed. In most cases, where there is a complaint about his slowness or his inability to dress himself, it will be discovered that when he fails, some adult usually comes to his rescue and assists him. Thus he feels no definite responsibility for dressing; he knows that he will always be rescued in case of failure. By the time he starts to school this process should be fairly adequately accomplished.

At this time the child should begin very definitely to assist in the care of his room. That may mean the holding and straightening of the sheet on the far side of the bed as it is being made. It may mean simply picking up and hanging away his clothes. But it should be a definite and constructive duty.

It is difficult to get this particular bit of a task assigned to the child because most adults are in a hurry to do their work and they feel that the child is in the way, that he actually holds up the process. When this attitude hinders the development of the child, it must be stressed that unless he is trained

in the home he is likely never to be trained, or, if he does receive training outside of the home, it is at great expense both as to time and energy.

If the child, especially the boy, is trained at this period to care for his own things, life becomes much less complex. Many men are fairly helpless with regard to the care of their own garments and their own living quarters. This is an absurdity in the face of the fact that the care of one's garments and one's sleeping room, at least, should not take more than thirty minutes of any given day—not more, in fact, than the time required to take out to the presser the clothes that have been carelessly thrown around.

To teach boys order at an early age would relieve many marriages of severe strain. It is a definite duty of the mother to see that her son does not inflict on her the very thing that her husband may have done, and which so many men do without realizing that they are making personal servants of their wives.

Many marriages would be happier if the wives did not feel that their duties included those of a valet. Women should train their sons in such a way that they in turn will not make their wives unhappy in this way, and thus cause their own happiness to be jeopardized.

Boys are not any more instinctively disorderly than girls and they should be trained in habits of orderliness in regard to their own environment in the same way. Every child should be kept from getting the impression that he, somehow, is so valuable to society that it must perform for him the various menial acts of his environment. *This training should be presented not as "helping mother" but as a way in which "baby can pull his own weight in the boat."* It must be presented as one of those things that we do in this world in payment to other people for what they do for us.

All of this takes time. It means changed routine. It means

less time for play for the child and for the mother as well; but it means also that she is doing a bigger job. Women are inclined to complain of the fact that the care of children and the care of their homes are being taken out of their hands. The first five years are the most important time of the child's training and there should be nothing to keep a mother from applying herself to it at this period. This attitude and belief are obviously due to the fact that the parents have not really considered the complexity of the psychological training of the child.

It is very common to have parents say that one child actually seems to endanger the safety of another child; that they do not know whether or not to permit the child to stay in the room with the baby. One mother said, "When my little girl baby was born, I tried to make my boy, who was two and a half, see that now he was a man, a grown-up person. I moved him from his little cot and put him in the next room, and yet, in spite of all my efforts, he actually seems to resent and hate the baby.

"One day I put her in his arms and said, 'See, this is our baby! She is your baby and she is our baby, too. We all love her. Papa loves her and I love her.' He looked at me for a moment and then screamed, 'Take it away. Take the ugly little thing away. I am sick at the stomach,' and he threw himself on the floor and had a tantrum. What am I to do about this particular type of behavior?"

She should have done something earlier in order to prevent such a situation from arising. As soon as she knew the second baby was coming, she should have begun to stress the boy's "adulthood," and, finally, when the baby came, she might have been able to persuade him to accept her happily.

This boy had been the center of attention from parents, grandparents, aunts, and uncles, and with the arrival of the baby sister he saw himself dethroned. It was the old case of

"The King is dead. Long live the Queen," but with the King looking on. None of us would respond to such a situation in any more generous fashion than this boy did.

In the last analysis, there is no other element so important in the development of group consciousness of the right sort in the child as association with other children, preferably in his own family. The "only" child is greatly handicapped. He cannot be expected to go through life with the same capacity for adjustment that the child reared in the family with other children has.

He is handicapped for two reasons: first, because since he does not have other children of his age and type in his own family to share his parents and his toys and environment, he does not receive the necessary lessons in adjustment; and, second, because he has, all the time, to compete with adults, and, therefore, has no legitimate success. This latter phase is not evident at first sight, but when one thinks of an only child alone with his family of adults—father, mother, and possibly grandparents—one sees at once that there is no field in which he may legitimately succeed except in that of being an infant. The only way in which he can really exceed these adults is in infantile behavior. He can scream louder than they can. He can throw himself on the floor. He can have temper seizures.

Of course, parents attempt to "give the child the game" at intervals, to let him feel that he has won, to let him feel that his spelling and reading are important; but actually, a child of any intelligence at all knows that every individual in his whole environment can outreach him and outstrip him. This is unhealthy.

One learns best to adjust through success and not through failure. Distance is measured not by the number of missteps we make, but by the number of correct steps. To get the

feeling of vigorous sureness and certainty, one must have more success than failure in his environment. Of course, certain adults become distorted in this respect and work only under the lash of failure, but this is not a healthy attitude and children should not be trained to respond in this way.

If, through some misfortune, there can be no other child in the family, another should be adopted in order that the child may have a companion. When there are no children in the family, it is unwise to adopt one, unless other children can be adopted with him.

If a child is alone at home, or is separated by several years from the other children in the family, companions of his own age and type should be brought in. It is not always possible to adopt another child if one has an only child, but it is always possible to borrow other children. Children can be brought in daily for a certain number of hours as members of the family. There are many children to whom such an arrangement would mean hours of comfort and perhaps food that would make the difference in their lives between success and failure. The day nursery in the neighborhood, or the social service worker, or the school nurse, can usually recommend some child of this type.

Parents must think, of course, of what their child may be taught by the other, but some risk may well be run. The child has to learn to "run with the crowd" some day, and he must learn at a very early age to discriminate between what "the crowd" teaches him and what is taught him at home.

It is usually true, too, that every child has something to contribute to another.

Parents often feel that if they, themselves, associate with their children, that is adequate, but other children have more to give them than do the parents, and if it is a choice between

the parents' society or the society of children, then, for the welfare of the child, choose the children. The child's life will be spent with people of his own generation, and it is only with people of his own generation that he can learn the art of selecting his friends, and adjusting himself to them.

One of the most difficult tasks which the child must learn is to evaluate the people he meets and to select friends from among them. Many very capable parents feel that they must select their child's friends, so that his taste will be formed for the correct sort of friendship. In this way they train him in the art of enjoying friends already selected, but not in selecting them.

Very often it is surprising to parents to find that when a child gets away from home, he has no capacity for finding the right people in his group. This is because he has had no experience in selecting friends; he has had only the experience of enjoying persons already selected. Very often his lack of self-confidence in this field will lead him to select people of whom he is sure of a conquest, rather than those to whom it would be a little more difficult to adjust.

The oldest child in the family has to have very special training. In the first place, he may be classed as a "practice child" because the average parents have had no experience in the training of children. They produce their first offspring whom they, presumably, love more than anything in the world, and they have to learn all the "tricks of the trade" on him. No such method would be employed in building a house, or training a race horse, or carving ivory, or even making a suit of clothes.

A father and his first child, a boy of three, were raking leaves in the yard. Naturally the child had no general conception of why the leaves were being raked, but he was making every effort to "assist"—with the usual result. However,

the father could have repaired in three minutes with his large rake, all the harm the small boy could have done in the whole afternoon.

Why all the leaves should be raked into one pile was not explained to him. He was simply told at intervals, "No, no, Billy, don't rake them that way. Rake them this way." To the child's mind the father was simply a dictator. The boy was really making an enormous effort to adjust himself to the situation, and an adult performance should not have been expected of him.

Finally the child looked very closely at what his father was doing and, apparently, decided that the essential element was that his father was raking the leaves to a bare spot on the lawn. Unfortunately, the spot which he selected was a bed of bulbs, which he could not see since they had died down. He was then reprimanded for standing on the bulb bed, as though he could be expected to recall that last spring—six or seven months ago—he had seen yellow flowers in that place, and to know that their roots were still under the ground. At last the boy was punished.

Had this father had even the most elementary knowledge of the capacity and memory span of a child of three, the misunderstanding could have been avoided. Or if he had made an effort to get the boy's point of view, things might have gone well. The boy was making the best adjustment that he could.

If a child is so unfortunate as to live with an adult who is so domineering, then it is necessary for him to utilize infantile technique in order to succeed. His one method of controlling his group is by developing in it a fear of his tantrums, breath-holding, stuttering, tics, or hysterical simulation of symptoms. This mechanism is, of course, developed below the level of consciousness.

If, on the other hand, children are permitted to dominate

their environment they are without the training and capacity for meeting the situation when circumstances arise which they cannot control. This early domination may seem an insignificant thing, but the individual accustomed to dominate will not quickly give up his habit, whatever may be the necessities of other people. Of course, the dominating, bullying baby may not become a dominating, bullying adult. Life may handle him roughly enough, and early enough, to teach him better, but every adult bully was at one time a modifiable infant who could have been formed by training into a cooperative human being.

When the elders of a household have to creep in and out as though they were burglars just because "baby is taking a nap"; when they have to eat infantile diet for fear of arousing the appetite of the child for some special food, or when they fear to enforce a reasonable request because the child might not like it, then his future as a useful member of society is being jeopardized.

Adults sometimes control children by illegal methods, often consciously and with the full consent of other adults. Teasing is an example of this. Teasing is a remedy for a feeling of inadequacy on the part of the person who teases, since it gives him a sense of power and superiority. It is an infantile method of making a social adjustment and is very destructive to the happiness of the person being teased since his feeling is one of helplessness and of being blocked.

Teasing is very often handed on in a peculiar way. The oldest child will be teased and nagged by the parents and will, in turn, tease and nag the younger members of the family. This is permitted by the parents because it is often mistaken for a "sense of humor" and is supposed to "harden" the younger child to life, just as hazing is supposed to do, at a later date. Whatever are the effects of hazing, those of teasing are destructive and deteriorating. If a child develops

a propensity for teasing, he should be excluded from the group until the habit is stopped. At the same time the home situation should be analyzed to see what caused it.

It sometimes happens that a younger child teases an older. It will usually be found that the older child is dominating the younger to too great an extent. The remedy lies in modifying the behavior of the older child.

A well-ordered nursery, correct food, and education will be of little avail if the parent is self-centered, hardened, or excessively ambitious for personal advancement, or domineering, moody, inefficient, timid, discouraged, or "temperamental." For this reason a great many students of children's behavior feel that an analysis of the parents is necessary in every case of maladjustment of the child. Ill-adjusted parents with moods, who have irritable days and pleasant days, with a doubtful philosophy of life, with an anxiety with regard to the future or to finances, are not fit persons to undertake the rearing of a child.

The job of being a parent is not easy, mainly because in the long run it is what he is, not what he does, that counts. Life itself is not easy, and our highly mechanized civilization is almost intolerable to people endowed by nature as we are, unless we have learned to understand ourselves and the world about us. Then only can we hope to be successful parents.

Each of us thinks, in adolescence, that he is destined to greatness. For an adult to continue to think this disrupts his whole possibility of successful adjustment. There is no health or happiness in striving for a success as complete as we, in childhood, dreamed it could be. The quiet, the calm, and the comfort necessary for successful development come only when the situations which we are meeting are matched by our own capacities. If we are not adequate, then the thing to do is not to goad ourselves on, not to try to march to the tune of

our adolescent ambitions, but to set ourselves and our energies at a task in proportion to our capacities.

There is no victory in the battle for the individual who fights *against* the facts of life. He cannot rise above his endowment and his inherent capacities, and he only is ready to carry on who has acknowledged his handicap and adjusted his load. It is essential that we realize this not only in regard to ourselves, but also in regard to our children. If the child cannot become the greatest engineer of the age, he may nevertheless be a successful man, and what is more important, a happy individual. If he has not the greatest intelligence, he may still be a human being of the happiest disposition toward life.

Carpentier has said that in the center of the maelstrom there is a calm spot which each of us can find. This can best be done by laying aside our pretensions and our unfulfilled ambitions and accepting the overwhelming and incontrovertible fact that we are as we are.

CHAPTER XIII

THE LAWS OF DISCIPLINE

DISCIPLINE, as defined by the dictionary, has two functions. The first is the building up of serviceable habits. The second is the modifying and changing of unserviceable types of habit. The building up of the serviceable habits is by far the more important part of discipline.

Many people think that the breaking down of unserviceable habits is what is meant by discipline. They seem to think that the child has a large assortment of bad behavior which must be corrected before the correct and serviceable types are given.

Whether or not the idea that the child was conceived in sin is endorsed, he is usually thought to be an erring, erratic, and disordered individual through his natural tendencies. This does not coincide with what is known of the original equipment of the child. A child is born with the capacity for forming habits, but he is not born with habits in the sense that we use the word. Any unserviceable habit found in a child has been trained into him, either by accident or by intention, or by the force of his environment.

It is impossible to break a habit without replacing it, just as it is impossible to "think about nothing." Therefore an unserviceable habit which has been established in a child must be replaced by a serviceable one. It must be replaced with a habit more in conformity with both the wishes and the natural tendency of the child, and the needs of the group. One should say not "How can that habit be broken?" but "What can be substituted for it?"

The child undergoes the severest and the most complex part of his training between the ages of five and nine; much of the pressure of this period may be prevented by the previous formation of those habits which are most difficult to inculcate. A large part of the disciplinary problems of the years between five and nine is concerned with things that should have been learned before the age of five.

The control of the excretory functions, the establishment of correct food habits and the establishment of correct sleeping habits should be taught early. The child may be taught also to dress himself, to ask—not cry—for what he wants, and to consider the group as well as himself in his desires. He may be taught habits of implicit obedience more easily at this age than later, for instance, to stop when warned and to come when called. With these specific matters attended to, a great step is gained.

Failure in learning these rudimentary habits is due oftenest to one of two things. The child is given a task unsuited to his age, or he is confused by an effort to teach him too many things at once. A child cannot learn how to have good table manners, to eat the food that is put in front of him, to keep quiet, to obey, to go to bed, to go to sleep, to adjust to people —all at once. That is too complex. The lesson is too difficult.

One or two repetitions of an act which is expressive of the child's fundamental desires form a habit. It is not necessary to repeat some things over and over in order to form a habit. But when a habit is being formed against the child's desires, it is often necessary to repeat it a great many times.

It is also necessary to establish early what might be called *habitual type of response.* That is, the child may be taught to *get new habits easily* and to *meet new situations with the minimum amount of friction.* This is quite comparable to teaching a child to read before you require him to learn the

contents of books. If he is accustomed to reacting well to new situations, the process is relatively simple.

There are three main classes of things against which children are warned. First, there are things that will hurt the child—fire, deep water, poisonous things, and unsuitable food. We discussed, in the learning of fear, the type of parent who maintains that he intends to rear his child without fear—but the person who learns to fear wisely is the well person. It is the person who has to "pick up" his fears, so to speak, in an untrained way, and who picks up fears of the wrong objects, who has the most difficulty.

Many educators recommend that children be permitted to get the experiences with various things that hurt at first hand. It is true, a child may be given a slight burn in order that he may learn the nature of fire, but it is quite impossible to let him "partially drown" in order to teach him the danger from deep water. We can hardly afford to let him be run over by an automobile in order to teach him the fact that automobiles are dangerous. In other words, there are certain very clear-cut situations in modern life which must be explained to the child and about which he must be given a good reflex type of behavior, things about which he must not be permitted to reason.

To illustrate, a child brought up under rather lax discipline was starting to cross the street. The parent, standing back from the edge of the pavement, saw a very rapidly moving automobile coming down the street. The child did not see the car. The parent called to him to wait. The child had been accustomed to saying, "Why?"—and he said it then. As he said it he moved in the direction of the automobile. It was because of the speed of the automobile, which got to the spot before the child, that he was saved from death. This parent was convinced that there are some situations in which an explanation may not be given to the child until afterward,

that there are some situations in which obedience must be automatic.

But it is not advisable to try to have automatic, implicit obedience in response to types of situations where it is not needed; otherwise the value of automatic behavior is lessened. Those things must be selected in regard to which it is felt that implicit obedience is necessary. Explain to the child that there are certain times when he must obey—that when you say, "Stop," in a certain way, or "Be quiet," in a certain tone of voice, he must obey your command. You must have some safety signal which he obeys as instinctively as a trained man in the army obeys the word "Halt." This can be made absolutely automatic.

A superior officer at an army post once met, on Officers' Row and informally, one of his younger but well-trained men, walking and reading a newspaper. The younger man did not see his superior officer and not being conscious of his presence continued to read. This gave the older man a chance to test his automatic response. As he came opposite the junior officer, he said in a very low but sharp voice, "Halt." The young officer, reading his newspaper, stopped with his foot raised in the air and looked up. His obedience had been absolutely implicit and instinctive.

Benjamin Franklin, you will remember, tells a story of how one man was following another man down a passage. The first man carried the light. The second man did not know the passage. When the first man said, "Stoop," the man following said, "But why?"—and struck his head against a cross-beam. Franklin rightly deduces from this that the man who stoops first and questions after is likely to live the longer of the two.

There is another group of situations about which we cannot reason with the child, but for a different cause. There are certain social customs which we observe for virtually no reason

at all except that it is customary to do so. There is an African word, "tabu," meaning roughly "the thing that is not done," and to such customs the child must learn to adjust himself. For example, it is partially tabu to mention nausea. It is wholly so, except in medical circles, to mention vomiting. These words are quite probably tabu because the person who hears them is stirred to a response akin to nausea.

In the building up of tabus in children, there are certain things that must be discussed. A child has to be told for instance that he may not put his fingers around his nose. But there are certain customs which may be called border-line tabus by which the child is much confused.

Why may one not eat with the knife? Will he cut himself? Obviously he will not. Most knives will not cut even tender steak. There is much more danger from the fork than from the knife. Yet we do not teach the child to leave the fork alone; we teach him to use it, while he may not eat with his knife. There is no reason for this—it simply is not done. Rather than try to make up some fairly obvious reason about cutting one's self, it is much better to say, "There are certain things which we do not do. There are certain things which are not done by the group." If the child is given the theory of social tabus and the parent does not take advantage by trying to "put over" a large number of personal or outworn customs, then there is established a type of control which the child recognizes.

Children, among themselves, have tabus. It seems to be a natural type of behavior. A child may give another child a piece of candy. It is tabu to take it back. If he does so, he is called "Indian-giver" by the other children—a terrible taunt. After a certain age a child may not cry when he is slightly hurt. If he does the other children call him "cry-baby." There is a tabu against telling mother what has happened. One must stand on his own feet. If he tells

mother what the other boys have done he is known, technically, as a "tattle-tale."

The child understands tabus. He understands the system and if he is told "This is something that you would not want to do, any more than you would want to be an Indian-giver, or a tattle-tale," he understands and will usually try to conform.

The importance of the subject of tabus[1] cannot be overestimated, because we ourselves, as a social group, operate under them, and the sooner the child learns that we do operate to a great extent under such a system, rather than according to rational behavior, the happier the child and the better the discipline. The parent who thinks he may reason with a child about everything has not analyzed "everything."

The third group of acts for which the child is often corrected is made up of those which interfere with the security and comfort of the group. Lying and stealing are examples of such acts. These are discussed specifically in another chapter. As regards the comfort of the group, there are certain things which children must be allowed to do. While the elders who, after all, are grown-up children, also have their rights, children should not be suppressed in respect to such things as noise and activity. They must have outlets that do not conflict with the comfort of adults. The old adage that "children should be seen and not heard" was devised, it may be sure, not by a child, but by some adult who wished to do the talking.

The child is at our mercy. In a way he must be treated with the courtesy given a guest, or a captive. We have him under our control. We make him live in our social organization. We select the house. We furnish it. We dictate what

[1] A study of the bases of our tabus is very helpful. For this, James George Fraser's book, *The Golden Bough*, published by Macmillan Company, London, is recommended.

his group and personal tabus and customs may be. We should, therefore, be generous in the matter of deciding between his interests and our interests. We are far from being impartial judges; we are judging in our own case as against his.

Rewards

Parents often ask, "Shall I reward my child for doing necessary things, such as dressing in the morning or eating the food that is put in front of him? Shall the child be paid for doing necessary chores about the house, such as hanging up his clothes or picking up his toys?"

It is sound psychology to reward the child for doing some things. It is all right to reward him with candy, toys, or money for doing certain chores—especially unpleasant ones, such as taking out the ashes or helping with the dishes. It is quite unwise, however, to pay him for everything that he does. This can easily be carried to the point where the child feels that he must be paid in money or given some pleasurable excitement in return for everything he does. He must be taught to work for the approval of his parents and his companions. A pat, a kiss, a smile, a complimentary word—these, as well as gifts, should be used for rewarding the child for desirable conduct.

There are many types of rewards. Perhaps the most important are: (1) The absence of punishment (which is an equivalent to a reward). (2) A gift to the child, such as candy, toys, or money. (3) Permission for the child to do something that is pleasurable to him, such as going out skating, sailing, or swimming. (4) The approval of the social group, especially of his parents and his playmates.

It may seem contradictory to say that lack of punishment is a reward, but a study of children's behavior shows that this is true. Betty, aged four, was in the habit of gaining her

mother's attention by standing on the edge of her chair, screaming, and pulling, and pinching at her mother's arm. The mother often threatened to whip Betty or to put her to bed or to shut her up in her room, but she never did. Betty was never punished for the temper tantrum, while she gained a certain amount of attention from her mother. Thus the absence of punishment was in a certain sense a reward.

The types of rewards listed are overlapping and no one case illustrates only one type. A small boy was in the habit of walking around the coping of a school building. This had been strictly forbidden by the janitor. Nevertheless this boy was able, by planning carefully, to walk around the building from time to time without being seen by the janitor.

One day as the boy was passing a window on the coping, he was heard to say to another boy, "Come on, John; walk around with me."

John replied, "I 'm afraid to because the janitor might get after me."

The first boy replied, "Aw, no! I 've done it lots of times, and he never caught me. It 's fun!"

The very fact that the act was forbidden lent a charm to it, and that he could do a forbidden act and not be punished was in itself a reward.

In paying the child for doing certain things, great care must be exercised that he does not become too selfish or assume that he can demand payment for everything he does. A few selected tasks should be chosen for which the child is paid in money or in gifts. Things that he must do for his own health or for the rights of others should not be paid for. They should be done without thought of a reward.

A child should be paid only for those things which are not absolutely essential. Then there should be a contract between the child and parent. If the child decides to break his contract, he should be allowed to do so. Let us say that

he is paid ten cents a week for bringing his father's slippers. If the child decides he does not want to bring the slippers any more, the father should say, "That is all right. If you don't want to bring the slippers, then you don't get your pay." There should be no resentment in the father's tone or manner. If the child is paid in money to do a thing, it should be a clear-cut business proposition, and he should be allowed to break the contract without being made to feel that he has committed a wrong.

One of the best ways of rewarding the child is by allowing him certain privileges. There are certain things, however, that must be kept in mind. The job that you ask the child to do in order to win the privilege must not be too hard. Allowance must be made for the child's mental and physical capacity. It is not wise to ask a young child of three or four to pick up all the toys in the room, because that may be too much for him. If he picks up a few of them, it may be sufficient. One must be sure, however, that the privilege that is allowed the child is something that he really wants. Sometimes the parents assume that the child ought to want things when in reality he does not want them, and so these privileges offered as a reward are no incentive to him at all.

The approval of the social group, especially the approval of the child's playmates, is the most important means by which the child may be rewarded. The child of kindergarten age desires more than anything else to receive attention, and some children seem to appreciate attention in the form of disapproval as much as in the form of approval. To give a kindergarten child a great deal of attention by scolding him because he will not eat his vegetables often gives him almost as much pleasure as does praise.

Most parents are familiar with the method of using a chart on which are printed in large letters the various duties which

the child is expected to perform, such as eating the food that is placed in front of him, going to bed when he is told, or picking up his toys. He is given a star for each one of these duties carried out satisfactorily for the day. Sometimes parents wait until the end of the week to give the child a star. This is too distant a reward for a child of three, four, five, or six. When the child has earned it, he must get his star each day. Sometimes a very large and different-colored star is given at the end of the week as a reward for getting daily stars.

A working mother had to leave her two children, aged three and five, with the nurse. The nurse was an intelligent, kindly woman, but she found it difficult to get the same obedience from the children that the mother did, especially in regard to their eating. The mother arranged with the nurse to give the children stars for each day that they ate their food promptly and without objection. The mother allowed the nurse to decide whether the children had earned these stars, and then the children pasted the stars on the charts with quite a ceremony. This not only trained them to eat their food properly, but at the same time completely changed their attitude toward the nurse. Instead of regarding her as an unfriendly substitute for the mother, they treated her with much more respect and consideration than before and she was able to manage them in many other ways much better than she previously had done.

In using the chart it is frequently necessary to change the items on it in order to keep the child's interest alive. It is necessary often to change the rewards also from a star to some small, bright-colored picture.

The not uncommon custom of rewarding the child to stop him from misbehaving is quite destructive to all discipline. "If you don't cry when mother goes down town, she will bring you some candy." "If you will stop crying, mother

will buy you some ice cream.'' This merely trains the child to cry for what he wants. Under no circumstances should parents try to buy off a child when he is misbehaving. Instead of paying a disobedient child to stop crying, it is much sounder to follow out the old custom of ''giving him something to cry for.''

The whole effort in training the child should be to teach him, in the end, to work for his own approval and for the pleasure of working. Self-approval and the pleasure of working are the greatest rewards that anyone can have. But the young child is too immature and too undeveloped to appreciate such a distant reward. It must be an ideal toward which one works slowly and which is reached only after many years of wise training.

Punishment

But, in spite of the best training by the wisest parents, there will arise some definite actions which will have to be stopped. New habits will have to be established in the place of the old, and sometimes the definite breaking of the old habits will have to take the form of a simple prohibition in some form or other. Then occurs what we think of as punishment.

Punishment involves pain. If it does not involve pain it is not punishment, and the parents should look this fact very straight in the face—that to give pain of any kind is to inflict punishment, and to punish is to inflict pain. Many parents seem to feel that there may be some compromise, but there can be none. There is one rule that must be followed. The pain inflicted must be greater than the pleasure derived from a given act, if the punishment is to be effectual.

When we consider the painful nature of punishment, it is

obvious that it is not a weapon to be handled lightly. We know, with regard to firearms, that the greatest safety is in knowing that they are loaded; it is the gun that is supposed to be unloaded that kills the nearest bystander. The same thing is true with punishment.

Assuming that punishment is for the purpose of reform and not for revenge, it is difficult to tell in advance what will be adequate, and this must be kept in mind in dealing with the child.

Punishment is for the purpose of changing the type of reaction and not for the purpose of social revenge. Parents have not only borne the child but they have reared him. They have no right to avenge themselves on him for their own errors and their own poor judgment or training. They can only say, "We have made a mistake here and we must modify it to the best of our ability."

One of the most destructive factors in connection with all punishment is that many people use it only as a threat and do not carry it out. It is absolutely destructive to say to a child, "If you do that I will punish you," and then let him do it without making good your promise. Much of the futility of physical punishment, and of other kinds as well, is that it is used as conversation for the adult instead of training for the child. Inevitableness and immediateness are the two great elements in successful punishment.

Punishment should usually occur at the first offense, if the child knew that his act was forbidden. There is no object in giving him a "practice period." It is futile to say, "If you do that again I will punish you." The child usually senses that the threatener is unready for the issue.

A girl of four addressed a question to her mother. The mother went on talking. The child repeated the question and struck her mother a light blow on the cheek. It was not a

real slap, but it was not a caress! The mother then said, "If you do that again I shall punish you." It is needless to add that the child did it again.

This whole proceeding was wrong. A child of four will ask questions. If the mother did not wish to answer them at that time, she should have set the child at some play or sent her from the room. Once the child spoke, she should have been promptly told to run and play or not to question again. When the situation had got out of hand and the child had struck, then the blow in return should have been immediate, decisive, and painful. There was no object and no value in letting the child have a "practice blow" at her mother.

Physical, as well as psychological, punishment must be aimed to control a distinct situation; it must be adequate, and it must be immediate, and on the occasion of the first offense *known to be an offense.* If the child does not know that what he has done is wrong, then he should be told that it was wrong, but he should not be threatened.

There are three types of punishment: physical, acute psychological, and prolonged psychological.

Physical punishment should be sharp, short, and used for the purpose of giving a *conditioned response.* If, for instance, a child is slapped on the hand when he reaches for something, the pain given should be sharp enough so that the child will withdraw his hand next time at the same point. It must be remembered in this connection that the young infant with a poorly organized nervous system does not perceive pain in the same degree in which it is perceived by adults. But in inflicting necessary pain we must be careful to guard against sadistic or cruelty tendencies, for there is a certain amount of pleasure involved in the inflicting of pain.

The question of acute physical pain brings up many ques-

tions: "What is the best form of punishment?" "What are the age limits of physical punishment?"

If whipping is resorted to—and it should be used rarely—it should be either a sharp rap on the hand as the little child is reaching for something that is forbidden, or, if it is more of a ceremony, a small leather strap or switch should be used on the bare calf of the leg, but the clothing should never be removed in order that the child may be whipped, and the child should never be put across the parent's lap and whipped on the buttocks. This is absolutely against the best laws of mental hygiene. As a result of such punishment many children develop actual "erotic zones," and experience actual pleasurable sexual sensations, very much to the distress and often to the bewilderment of their parents.

The question is often asked, "How old should a child be before physical punishment is permissible, and when should it stop?" This varies with the intelligence and the type of the child, but it is fairly safe to say that he should not be given physical punishment before the second year, nor after the eighth, if the intelligence is normal.

The second year seems fairly young for punishment, but there are some situations in which it seems advisable even with a younger child. For example, a teething baby of fourteen months bit the mother severely on the neck several times. The mother resorted finally to the old expedient of biting the child in return each time, and the trouble ceased. At first glance this might not be classed as physical punishment, but of course that is exactly what it was.

Physical punishment is usually most effective and most needed up to the time of the slowing down of the speech, at about four or four and a half. After that time the child may be reasoned with, and his word memory span is longer. A child correctly trained up to the age of five will not be likely to need much physical punishment later.

Acute psychological punishment, the best known forms of which are scolding, or depriving the child of something that he prizes very much, or putting him to bed, is brief, but nevertheless an acute form of unhappiness. This form has dozens of variations and has the great advantage that it does not involve actual physical pain. It sometimes does not establish, or it is at least less likely to establish, in the child, feelings of revolt and marked anger. The child has also more time to get adjusted to it as a form of punishment. It is the sort of thing that can be terminated quickly by the parent if he finds that it is not working.

Whenever acute psychological pain is resorted to, it is wisest to give it in a form that might be called an "indeterminate sentence." If the child is to go to his room alone, or out of the room for a time, the parent can decide when the period of punishment has been severe enough. This leaves to the judgment of the parent the decision as to when the child shall be brought back and into the good graces of the group. This type of punishment has been found the best even by the Courts

Prolonged psychological punishment is often not thought of as punishment at all. It consists usually in pouting about the behavior of a child, or in bringing up the subject again and again, referring to it whenever the occasion permits, or in a withdrawal of the approval and companionship of the parents for a long period of time. From the standpoint of mental hygiene, there is probably no one element in the home training that is more destructive.

One of two things happens. The child is at first distressed, then irritated, then indifferent or actually antagonistic; or, if the punishment is effective and the distressed attitude is retained, a whole chain of destructive types of response is established. The child becomes anxious, or moody, or depressed.

Agitated depressions in late adolescence and early adulthood may often be traced to this very destructive type of behavior of the parent or nurse. To correct a little child for something, and then, when she comes for comfort and reassurance, to say, "No, go away. Mother doesn't love naughty little girls," is cruel. The child should be punished immediately, adequately, and quickly, and then the sky should be clear. If the misdemeanor is again committed the punishment should be more severe or of a different type, but *the same immediate clearing of the atmosphere should take place.* Even after physical punishment the establishment of a cordial relationship should be immediate.

It is not well to combine acute physical and prolonged psychological punishment. A boy was whipped and put to bed for being rude to some guests. He was kept in bed all afternoon and was given only bread and milk for supper. The next day the father continued to show his disapprobation of the boy. He did not talk to him and did not show him any affection. This continued for three days. The first day the boy was repentent and showed a rather contrite spirit, but at the end of the three days he was sullen and resentful.

The result of prolonged psychological punishment is well shown by the story of Alice, a little girl eight years old. Alice's mother had a rigid standard of morals which did not make sufficient allowance for the imperfections and transgressions to be expected of children.

Alice, being an only child, received the undivided attention of the whole family, which included two aunts and three grandparents. She was permitted to do about as she pleased, and became rather petulant, domineering and self-centered.

When she was five years old the family realized that she was on a fair way to become spoiled, and the attitude was suddenly changed. She was nagged instead of being in-

dulged. She was surrounded with restrictions far too rigid for her years.

Having no constructive outlets for play, she began to pilfer. This brought more restrictions, until the climax was reached when she stole a dollar from a neighbor's house and bought candy with it. Her mother took the candy and made her pay back the money out of her allowance, and all candy was forbidden until after Christmas, a period of six months. During this time she had to endure the disapprobation of the family.

After Christmas the ban was lifted on candy, but the over-rigid discipline was continued. Six months later she stole ten cents from the home of a playmate. She was vigorously punished for this; she was not allowed to play with other children, and was not allowed to go to the neighborhood playground during the entire summer. The mother's attitude made the neighbors feel that Alice was bad, and they did not care to have their children associate with her. She became a pathetic, lonely child. So strong was the urge for companionship that she stole a dollar from her mother and gave it to a classmate in order to walk home from school with her.

In this case a child eight years old had been subjected to prolonged psychological punishment for a period of three years. The result had been to accentuate and set the misbehavior.

To put a child in a state of psychological discomfort for more than a few hours is destructive. One should remember that only in morbid individuals does the discomfort remain discomfort. In a healthy child it soon turns to anger, and the effect of the punishment then has been nullified.

Do not try to reason with the child when he is in a rage; wait until he cools off. Do not talk to the child just after you have punished him. He is not in a receptive state, or, if

he knows that you are going to punish him, he is not in a psychological state in which he can listen or reason. Most "talking" to a child is really "lecturing." The child is usually not asked to explain his behavior, or, if he is asked, it is a rhetorical question and not a real one. The wise parent will sit down quietly with the child and ask him the reason for his conduct, and try to understand why this deviation in behavior occurred, and then decide as coolly as possible whether this is the time that this particular type of behavior should be broken up, whether other things in the child's training make this an auspicious moment, or whether this is the time when this thing should be ignored.

Sometimes merely helping a child to talk over his behavior in a certain circumstance will help him to formulate his ideas on the subject. We are prone to think that children go ahead with their intellectual processes in the way that adults do, but it is quite likely that young children do not really think except when they think out loud. Asking a child sincerely why he did certain things is helping him to formulate in his own mind his reasons for doing them, and very often his judgment will help him not to repeat the given offenses.

Parents often feel that after a misdemeanor a child must repent before justice can be satisfied, but it is rarely wise to insist on repentance. If the child has been adequately punished for an act, this should be sufficient in itself to prevent a recurrence of it. If the child voluntarily expresses regret, that is well, but he should not be forced to do so.

Mary, a girl of five, threw some stones at her playmate, and her mother made her come into the house for this offense. As soon as she came in, she had a temper tantrum. She screamed and cried and made so much noise that her mother put her in the basement until she stopped. After Mary had been silent for some time, the mother went to the basement and said, "Do you like to be down here?" Mary replied,

"No." Then the mother said, "Will you be quiet and behave yourself if I let you come upstairs?" Mary replied, "Yes." Thus far, the mother had acted wisely; she had enforced her discipline, and the child had gained nothing by having a temper tantrum. Then the mother made the great mistake of saying, "Will you say that you have done wrong if I let you come upstairs?" Mary replied, "Not on a bet!" Children, as well as adults, must be allowed to "save their face."

When the punishment is over it should be over, and the parents should not indulge in any period of righteous indignation. They should punish as inevitably, under certain circumstances, as a hot stove would burn, and it should be brought to the attention of the child that "if you touch the stove again the same thing will happen again." The stove will not weaken. It will not repent. If, an hour after being burned, you touch it again, it will again burn you, but fortunately, will not pout in the meantime.

There must be this inevitable, this sure-fire type of punishment, once the parent has made up his mind what definite thing he wishes to counteract, and when it has been inflicted, he should not permit himself the luxury of pouting and mourning over the offender. When the punishment is over let it be over!

Gilbert and Sullivan said something about "making the punishment fit the crime"; they said it with the intent to be funny and sarcastic, but unfortunately the public accepted it as a truism, and ever since, people have gone ahead attempting to make the punishment fit the crime. This is an error. No one can modify the crime. The crime is a thing of the past. What one wishes to modify is the "criminal"; and the same thing is true in disciplining the child. One cannot modify the act. That is over. One wishes to modify the individual who committed the act. There are many ways

of going at this. The mother of a boy of three was quite disturbed as to what type of discipline she could use to do away with a very peculiar type of behavior in her boy. The child undressed in the front yard. When his act was analyzed, it was found that he always undressed in the presence of the little girl next door. When he was asked why he took his clothes off, he said it was "because his knee itched," or because he wanted "to see how a button was put on," or made some other trivial excuse, always a different one, showing fairly conclusively that he did not quite know himself why he did undress.

The period of exhibitionalism, or rather, one should say the state of "innocency" with regard to the body, had not been outgrown in this youngster. He did not really know why we keep our clothes on. There was no moral problem involved. All that was needed was to persuade the child to keep his clothes on until the time when his own tabus could be built up. The mother got together the equipment necessary to punish him in the correct way the next time that he should undress in the yard. She had the laundry starch some towels and some of his clothing very stiff. When the time came, he was taken upstairs and told that a person did one of three things when he undressed—he went to bed, took a bath, or changed his clothing, and in order that he might remember he might try all three.

He was put to bed for five minutes. The object was not to punish him by putting him to bed, but to help him remember the sequence in its logical form. At the end of five minutes he was taken up and given a bath. He was scrubbed thoroughly with soap and brush, and quite a ceremony of a rather unpleasant sort was made of the bath. He was dried with a starched towel. At the end of this ordeal he was dressed again; this time in the stiffly starched clothing that had been prepared in advance.

None of these three processes gave him any pleasure; all of them gave him pain or discomfort sufficient to stress them in his attention. That was the last time that he removed his clothes in public. He started to one day, but he said, "I don't want to go to bed, and if I don't go to bed I might have to take a bath."

If the egotism and the feeling of injured innocence and thwarted authority be laid aside by the adult, he often finds that to praise the successful act and ignore the unsuccessful is the most effective way to get results.

In the kindergarten-clinic for nervous children, where for several years we had the opportunity to study children, we found that a certain type of reaction with regard to food could be built up very easily in this way. The children were asked that those who had had milk for breakfast stand up. Those who stood up were congratulated, and sometimes were very seriously shaken hands with. Much ado was made over each individual who had had milk for breakfast. The individual who had not had milk for breakfast was permitted to sit unnoticed. We let, so to speak, "the waters close over him." It would have been the easiest and simplest thing in the world to have said, "Why, John, to think of your not having milk for breakfast. Why, we had hoped you would have milk for breakfast. Of all these children, we expected you to be the first to rise."

This would have given John a definite type of reward for bad behavior. He would have had attention, which is the child's most precious reward, and this attention, he, being an intelligent child, would have tried to get again by the simple expedient of not drinking milk.

Since those children who had acted in a serviceable social way, in this case by drinking milk, were praised and were given attention, this boy could gradually be brought into line. This is not "just a theory." It was tried time after

time and was successful. It is founded on a fundamental, sound, basic principle.

Children, as well as adults, resent having "I told you so" thrown at them. This was the type of discipline used with Jim, who had changed from a happy, laughing, contented, small boy into a disobedient, irritable, surly boy of eight.

His mother said, "I don't know what is the trouble with Jimmie. I always reason with him and try to show him the error of his ways. Now last September he did n't want to return to school because he had a new teacher. He said, 'Mother, I don't want to go to school, because our new teacher is so strict,' but I said, 'Oh, Jimmie, you must go to school, and I 'm sure you will grow to like your new teacher before the month has passed.' And sure enough, before the month was over he came to me and said, 'Mother, I really like my new teacher. She is n't too strict; she is awfully nice.' "

Then the mother violated all the principles of good training. Instead of saying, "That 's fine! I 'm glad you like your teacher," she said, "Well, that 's just what mother told you would happen. You see it is so much better to take mother's advice—she always knows best."

Can the boy be blamed for being surly and irritable under such a type of "I told you so" discipline?

Sometimes there is both a right and a wrong side to the behavior of an individual, and it pays to praise that which is serviceable in the act, and ignore that which is unserviceable. Very often a person may do an unselfish act with a selfish motive, or he may commit a destructive and anti-social act through a very good motive. Often the motives are mixed. This is true of children as well as of adults.

A girl of eight was seen by her mother fighting with two other little girls. The mother walked down the road and called to her daughter. The fight stopped when her presence was realized. Without pausing for court martial, the mother

suggested to her little daughter that she come with her to hunt turkey eggs, a thing the child liked very much to do.

As they walked along through the meadow, the mother talked about casual things in order to give the child an opportunity to cool off and to realize that she was not angry. After they had got some distance the mother said to the little girl, "Why were you fighting?"

The child answered, "Those two girls have been ugly to the little negro girl, Annie, and I was fighting them about that."

This perhaps was only part of the truth. Annie may have been the immediate subject over which they had fought out a rather long-standing grudge, but the mother did not go into this. She had to decide which aspect of the child's conduct to emphasize. She wanted her daughter to stop fighting, but she also wanted to present to her the fact that the Creator of mankind was pleased with people who were kind to other members of the human race, and so she said to her, "I am certainly very proud of you. I am sure that God must be proud of you for defending a person who could not defend herself." That was all. She might have said, "I am sure God will dislike you heartily for fighting with other members of the human race," but she had the wisdom not to do so. This girl, now grown to a woman, says that since then she has always had a very friendly feeling toward the Creator.

The mother says, "Of course, I had no right perhaps to say how God felt about it, but I thought that there *'God' could be made to stand for total social approval.*"

Too much and too often parents do their punishing vicariously. They throw the onus on God. They say, "God will not love you if you do this." They use some such threat again and again, until, as one little boy of six said in exasperation (an exact quotation) "Well, what if God does n't like that! I can't say much for Him if He 'd get mad about that, anyway."

Children have a very primitive idea of God, and they are often given a conception of Him as a rather small individual who interferes with life in an unwarranted way. They cannot be expected to develop a great respect for a Being who spends His time hating little boys who cry, or condemning without trial little girls who have been bad, when such a thing is not done in any civilized country today. Children can, however, be given a conception of "social approval" as we see it, of what we conceive the Creator to be, or what we conceive His wishes to be in regard to our behavior.

An effort to change the young child's reactions by "developing his conscience" is usually inadequate and futile.

A mother says, "My little girl of five is rather quick-tempered. When she does something wrong I put her on a chair to think over her misdeeds, and when she has repented of them I let her get off the chair. What do you think of this for punishment?"

In the first place, this mother is assuming that a child of five can "think over" her misdeeds, while to do so presupposes experience and a capacity for judging acts in a relative way. In the second place, she is supposing that thinking over one's sins—if the child *can* do it—is unpleasant. We know, from seeing so many people "mull" over and enjoy their sins, that the elements of pleasure very often offsets the element of unhappiness.

This punishment, in other words, simmers down to two things—physical confinement, and disapproval or prolonged psychological punishment, due to the attitude of the mother. If physical restraint is to be used on a child of five, then it should be considered as such. If pouting on the part of the parent is to be used, then it should be considered as such, and neither should be permitted to masquerade under the idea that the child is thinking over his sins.

Another child, a boy of six, has a way of telling very elab-

orate and fantastic stories which he, apparently, knows are not true. In order to break him of this habit, his mother puts him in a closet for an hour or two. This child's fantastic dreams, which he tells out loud, are simply a part of his life inside himself. His imaginings should be considered as a whole, and the object of any punishment for him should be to get him to discontinue living in a world of fantasy.

The submerged part of fantasy has the same relationship to the spoken part that the visible part of the iceberg has to the invisible—one-seventh of it is above the surface of the water; six-sevenths are below the surface. When this mother locked the boy in a closet alone, she simply gave him a glorious hour or two in which to indulge the six-sevenths of his tendency. The fact that he felt restraint at first and beat on the closet door does not nullify this statement, because he soon settled down to a real enjoyment of the occasion.

The object of discipline should be to prevent rather than cure. A girl of five came under our notice because she was "bad" and teased her older sister, a girl of eight. The older sister was studying at a desk, laboriously making some rather elaborate copy work with a pen. The younger child walked up and deliberately jogged her elbow, causing her to spoil the work.

Apparently she was just a naughty child who needed the usual forms of punishment, but the usual forms of punishment had been used for her quite freely most of the years of her life without success.

The only way to get some insight into this particular piece of "badness" was to study the whole picture and to make an analysis of the relationship of the two individuals in the drama, to see why the one child should deliberately interfere with and worry the other.

The situation disclosed was as follows: The older child

was very brilliant. She had the type of mind that absorbs and retains small bits of information such as rhymes, dates, etc. She had become a little too proud of her achievements and value. She had, for instance, learned the entire twenty-third psalm at an early age, and was called on quite frequently to repeat this in the presence of visitors. She memorized quickly at school, and brought home very good report cards, which were shown with much pride by her parents.

She was somewhat priggish over her attainments, for she was being praised most of the time both at home and at school.

The younger child, on the other hand, seemed to have an aptitude from the beginning for the natural sciences. Contrary to the custom with small girls, she had begun at an early age to collect the insects from the yard and classify them in a crude way. She had at one time a collection of the small harmless snakes frequent in the neighborhood, and these she handled without fear and with great freedom. She also collected botanical specimens in a small way. All this meant that she usually returned home dirty and muddy, and in possession of many forbidden objects. As a consequence she was first laughed at and then reprimanded, and she was continually referred to as silly and stupid and a bad little girl. The final point of endurance had been reached when she had been unfavorably compared to her sister all the afternoon preceding the incident of the jogging of the elbow.

It would have been brutal to punish this child, as well as entirely inadequate. Her family were persuaded to accept her as a "scientist." She was given the proper boxes and cases in which to collect her specimens, and suitable overalls and rough shoes in which to pursue them. Her mother was persuaded to read to her from Fabre and other natural scientists, instead of Mother Goose and fairy stories, and in a

short time the child became so interested that she picked up reading very quickly in order to continue the subject at her own convenience.

With this change in attitude her unhappiness and her envy of her sister ceased, and she became a comfortable person to live with.

It is necessary to try to view behavior from the standpoint of the child and his knowledge. Lessons must be simplified for him, only one or two habits must be taught at a time, and the parent must be "game" enough to ignore other things that are going wrong, unless the process is going too far. For each age there is a certain type of performance, a given capacity, and to expect a five-year-old child to behave like a seven-year-old, emotionally and in muscle control, is as silly as to expect him to behave intellectually like an older child. A child of five has not the control of a child of seven or ten, nor does he learn in the same way. A child of three has one span of attention; a child of four another.

Parents must have a well-thought-over program in order to discipline their children well. In the first place, they must ask themselves what they wish to accomplish in the long run, rather than what they wish to accomplish within the next fifteen minutes. They must realize that children are growing up, inevitably, and going away from them to live their own lives; that the function of the parents is to train them to stand alone. Home is a bridge over which the children are crossing and not a place in which they are standing to take root. It is the bridge that leads from infancy to adult life.

The child is not a doll nor a dog. A doll may be put where we wish; a dog may be kept purely for the pleasure of the owner, but a child cannot be made to take the place of either without serious psychological injury. We are, all of us, prone to take the attitude of the father who is supposed to

have said in answer to the draft, "Dear Sir: You cannot have my boy. I raised him for my own use." We often think of children in this light, as being for our own psychological comfort in our old age. If discipline is executed from this standpoint, then training is vain and the child must inevitably go out into the world unfitted to face it.

Many of the disciplinary problems that come up should never have been allowed to occur. For instance, the family is assembled at the supper hour. The mother of the family has been concerned with household duties and has had many encounters with the children. The father has been involved in business or professional difficulties of one sort or another outside the home. Both are tired; both are tense. The children have lived through a long day involving new experiences and repetitions of old ones, both pleasant and unpleasant. They also are tense.

The fire is very well laid. It requires, as a match to set off a large blaze, only some excessive giggling on the part of a nervous adolescent, or some awkwardness in the handling of a glass on the part of some younger child, some mishap with a spoon or a fork. It is quite obvious that whenever the head of the family is at the point where he will bang his fist down on the table and say, "This particular thing has got to stop," the situation should never have been permitted to arise.

It is to avoid this type of conflict during the hours when the resistance of both parents and children is reduced by fatigue that we insist on the necessity of a separate playroom for the children, remote enough so that the noise from it will not reach the adults.

Parents must have a philosophy of life which includes what they wish for the child in the way of behavior, and a philosophy for themselves that permits them to accept failure without feeling personally thwarted. They must develop

what is commonly called a sense of humor, which is really a sense of perspective that helps them to see themselves not as of vast importance in the history of the human race, but as small, rather fragile, and "distinctly-likely-to-err" human beings, who, after all, are only stumbling along.

If parents are wise they will stumble with the assistance of their children rather than against it. They will persuade their children that they are partners in the process of growing up, and that their only reason for being the dictators is because they have an older and larger knowledge of what the world wants, and because the world holds them responsible.

Let the child try out the wrong method, if this is possible, when he is insistent. Tell him why it is wrong from your point of view, but let him try it, and have his confidence to the extent that if he fails he will come back and tell you. If he fails you must not gloat, and if he succeeds you must be prepared to be game enough to admit his success and your error.

It is easy to go against the best interests of the child in his training. But when it is certain that the thing required is reasonable, necessary, and within the capacity of the child, then training should progress with much the fatality of the natural forces.

A child going to a school that he dislikes cannot be expected to get up and dress gaily and eat breakfast with the proper speed, because there is nothing in prospect at the end of those two processes but the school he dislikes. Put him in another school, or change the school routine; give him other associates, other opportunities, and he dresses cheerfully and eats without dawdling. Many children do not eat with any speed whatsoever because their food is distasteful and the conditions under which they are living are not happy. These things must be modified before response from the child or any results from discipline can be expected.

There are many things that no disciplining can give, that will come with age. The capacity to sit still is one of the most conspicuous of these things. We spend years trying to teach children to sit still—without success, because nature tells them to move. When along about the twelfth, or the thirteenth, or the fourteenth year maturation occurs and they are able to sit still, we probably point to them with pride and say, "See what we have done." But the result has really been attained in spite of the effort. We are in the same position as the savages who sprinkle water on the ground and then when rain comes, say, "See what magic-makers we are; we caused the rain." Nature did what we thought we were doing, and we butt our heads against the stone wall of muscles, nerves, and psychological necessities in the child and spend our energies trying to make him do those things which, if he is fortunate, he is able to refrain from doing, for often he is actually being asked to do that which would be destructive.

Unless the time is taken to formulate the philosophy by which the child is to be reared, unless the time can be taken along the way to get new attitudes each day, the training is hit or miss. Children cannot be brought into the world and then handled as an emergency problem. There must be a program; there must be an actual working method; there must be a curriculum for the development of their best behavior and their greatest success.

Many children live and succeed in spite of their training.

CHAPTER XIV

NERVOUSNESS

NERVOUSNESS may be described as an excessive activity of the nervous system, resulting in a peculiar type of response to the ordinary stimuli of life, and showing itself in such symptoms as over-activity, over-talkativeness, temper tantrums, poor sleep, crying spells, irritability or restlessness.

The word "nervous" is a scrap-bag term, but it does have a fairly definite connotation to most people. However, of forty definitions of the word given by a group of as many people, only three were the same, and in the examples of nervousness which they gave, they covered the whole range of behavior of an abnormal sort.

In the study of nervousness there are three things to be considered: (1) the nervous system with which the individual is endowed; (2) the physical condition; (3) the environment and training.

(1) The peculiarities of the inherited characteristics of the child will determine to a certain extent the way in which he will react to his environment. The inherited characteristics of the lower animals demonstrate this fact more clearly, perhaps, than those of human beings: The race horse of high pedigree has certain types of response that we do not expect from the draft horse, no matter how good the latter's ancestry. Again, one would not expect the same type of response from the collie or airdale that he would from the bull-dog or the mastiff. As the types of nervous system differ, the response to the same stimuli differs.

Human beings differ as widely in type, and the student of behavior must take these structural differences into consideration in the study of nervousness, because it is only when the type of child and the type of training coincide that the mechanism can run smoothly. The training given the child must be planned from the point of view of his special needs. Some young babies only a few days old will jump at the slightest noise and wake and cry, and seem to be especially sensitive to light and to touch, showing that there is a fundamental difference in their structure from birth.

The type and amount of intelligence will also be factors in nervous balance, and in the capacity to meet the environment with security and ease. Since the intelligence cannot be changed, the environment must be suited to it.

(2) The physical condition of the nervous child, while it is important, has been over-emphasized. Chronic infection, rickets, malnutrition will, indeed, make the nervous system more irritable and over-responsive, but while they may be added *causes* of nervousness they may be the *result* of poor training.

In the Northern states, where a relatively large part of the year is spent indoors, or one is heavily wrapped when outdoors, a condition of nervous irritability often develops toward the end of the winter months. This is probably due to the long winter shelter from unfiltered sunrays, and from the over-hot, over-dry atmosphere indoors. The appetite becomes poor, sleep becomes erratic, the person becomes restless and irritable, and the behavior deteriorates. This is a temporary state, but it is obvious that in the case of the child, a temporary state unwisely handled may easily become chronic.

(3) The most frequent cause of nervousness lies, doubtless, in the environment, both physical and psychological, and in the training and routine under which the child lives.

One of the commonest causes of nervousness in the young child is lack of separate living quarters, as outlined in the chapter on the nursery. This is true irrespective of his inherent type or of his physical conditon. The opportunity to set his own pace can be had in only his own quarters.

In his psychological environment the commonest cause is, perhaps, erratic discipline: too little one day, too much the next. For the nervous welfare of the child, discipline *must be consistent* in order that he may feel secure and at ease. We think of this erratic discipline as typical of the moody parent, but it is just as likely to be the way of the parent who has too much at stake in the child psychologically or who fears that under strict discipline the child may become less affectionate or more "nervous." Through such a policy a vicious circle is developed. Moody people are difficult for adults to live with in comfort. For children they are well-nigh intolerable, no matter how dearly loved and respected. Psychological security is necessary for the development of good mental and nervous health in the child, and this is impossible with parents who fluctuate between diverse moods.

Very often parents, through a normal desire to see the child succeed, apply pressure unwisely. He is pushed in school, his failures are met with the wrong attitude, and tension is developed. Many parents who act with ordinary good sense in regard to school are unwise in directing the child's extra-school activities. He cannot thrive under completely routinized living conditions. Free hours, free play, free direction of energies, are essential. The hours after school must not be utilized exclusively for music, dancing, gymnastic drill or even for religious instruction. If the child is under continual direction, he often develops a sort of pressure-irritation. Consistent discipline and insistent training must not be confused. Through the wish to see children

behave like "little ladies and gentlemen," too much training is often undertaken. It then deteriorates into nagging. This is especially true in the field of "manners." Manners have to be learned gradually and from experience, just like everything else.

Occasionally nervousness is seen which is the direct result of indifference, or, perhaps more accurately, thoughtlessness, on the part of the parents. Long motor trips, unsuitable holidays, delayed and unsuitable meals, incorrect clothing, irregular bed hours, may all contribute to nervousness. The child who moves from town to town, home to home, hotel to hotel, is not so fortunate, no matter how fine his home, as the child whose environment is stable. "The advantages of travel" up to the age of ten or twelve are mythical. When the parents travel, the child is generally better off in a good school where his associates remain much the same as usual and where the strain on his capacity for adjustment is minimized.

The wrong type of playmate is often a factor in developing nervousness in the child. An "only" child, or one who is the oldest in the family and hence is an only child for several years, often develops an extreme nervousness on account of the necessity for associating with adults much of the time. The child who is much younger than the others may also be handicapped in the development of poise. Suitable playmates or a nursery school are often indicated as necessities for such children.

Sometimes, owing to circumstances, or to superior or inferior intelligence, a child selects for an intimate one of marked difference in age. In the early childhood of the superior child, the best playmates are those of the same chronological age, or relatively the same size and experience, rather than those older than himself but of his own mental age. When the child is inferior, younger children are more

suitable playmates. The superior child who selects older children as companions is under a great strain in games and plays, and in his whole adjustment, as he usually is outdistanced in size and experience. A nervous irritability due to the keenness of the competitive life is very likely to result. The child is not so often made more keen and resourceful by such association as he is more irritable and high-strung.

Sometimes, in spite of the efforts of the parent and of the child, the group into which the latter falls is not suitable. Every adult knows that this happens to him also. If nothing can be done to remedy matters, and the child is becoming irritable, sleepless, tense, or restless, then to move to some other neighborhood is almost the only solution. Although this often means a great sacrifice on the part of the family, it is worth doing in order to prevent the development of a nervous, erratic, unsuccessful child.

Wrong school conditions are often a cause of nervousness. If the child is graded too high or too low, or if the teacher or the general atmosphere is tense, nervousness is likely to result.

Infant R. showed a tendency toward nervous irritability from birth. Her nursing was erratic, she slept lightly, was easily disturbed, over-responsive to light as well as to sound, and jumped and cried at the lightest or gentlest touch. She was an exceptionally pretty baby, and was the focus of emotions for a large connection of family and friends. During early infancy she was visited by friends and relatives who picked her up and handled and fondled her. At six weeks her condition was so acute that she was taken to a physician.

The routine was changed so that everyone was excluded from the nursery but the nurse and the mother, even the grandmother and the children in the family. The perambulator was discarded and the child never taken on the street or to the park. She was fed in a partially darkened room, after she had been quieted as much as possible. For a time her sleep-

lessness was treated with sedatives in order that the vicious circle might be broken. She was given sunbaths for a few moments at a time, and although she was a breast-fed baby, orange and tomato juice were added to her diet for the regulation of her excretory functions.

After a few months her irritability had been greatly relieved, her "colic" had disappeared, and she was more normal in behavior. Her seclusion was gradually done away with. But on account of her bad start in life, it will be necessary for her entire childhood to be carefully regulated, her environment kept simple and free from all such stimulation as riding in the car, parties, "children's days," and the reciting of rhymes and speeches. On the other hand, it will be vital that she be kept from thinking of herself as in any sense an invalid, or as sickly or fragile. The word "nervousness" should never be heard by her. This will be fairly easy in her case, as, owing to the lesson which her parents learned from her behavior, the routine of their other children has been changed and they have all been "secluded" in the nursery and large side yard.

Serious illnesses in children frequently bring about a serious nervous condition unless they are given good physical and mental hygiene.

Such was the case of Ralph, who was eight years of age physically but had the mentality of a child of nine. He was a healthy boy until the age of four, when he had measles, tonsillitis, and whooping-cough, and within the next two years he had three attacks of rheumatism. A year before he came to the clinic, he had an attack of chorea. The choreic infection disappeared, but many of the movements which he had developed remained. He was extremely nervous. When he got with a crowd of boys, he seemed to "go wild," and rushed madly around until he became exhausted. He had grimaces of the mouth even when he was sitting quietly. He twitched

his fingers and had a spasmodic twitching of the head caused by a spasm of the neck muscles. Such a movement is called a "tic." This was the after-effect of the attack of chorea. He shuffled his feet, and had an almost unending flow of speech. In school he simply could not sit still. His nervousness was so great that he had been unable to learn to write legibly.

The physical examination showed that Ralph was up to weight and that, in general, he was in good physical condition. He was correctly placed in school and was doing fair work. He would have done better work if he could have been more attentive, but his extreme nervousness made him more "flighty" in attention than is the average child of his age.

A study of the home condition showed that Ralph was being handled in such a way as to increase his nervousness and irritability. The mother herself was rather nervous and in rather poor physical condition, and was lacking in poise and calmness. Ralph was an only child, and was not allowed enough freedom. An example of the mother's discipline is as follows:

When the visitor came to the home to talk to the mother about Ralph, he rushed to the door to let her in. As soon as she came in, he went to the piano and began to play on it. The piano was new, and he wanted to call attention to it. The mother was rather irritated by the noise, and she ordered Ralph to stop. He stopped playing, and began to swing the piano stool around. The mother told him to stop this. He then rushed upstairs to get his toys to show to the visitor. The mother called to him very sharply that he could not bring his toys down because they would clutter up the room. Ralph asked, "Why?" The mother said, "Because I don't want you to." There ensued quite a little contest which ended by Ralph's getting a scolding and coming downstairs half crying and half in a temper tantrum.

He quieted down and they went in to dinner. Ralph's mother had laid out her best linen and extra silver for the occasion, and as soon as they came into the room, Ralph said, "Why have we got all this extra silver? We don't have it every night." He was reproved very severely and told that little boys should not make such remarks. When they began to eat, the mother cautioned Ralph about putting his glass of milk too near the edge of the table. She spoke to him half a dozen times during the first part of the meal. Finally he did spill some water on the table. He was given a scolding for this. His mother said, "See, now you have soiled this clean tablecloth," and she continued to tell him at length what a naughty boy he was. After they returned to the living room, the visitor remained for about half an hour. During this time Ralph was reproved or corrected by his mother almost constantly.

It was quite obvious that such thwarting of his normal activities would make him nervous and would increase the irritability which was caused by the attack of chorea. Despite all of the anxiety and scoldings of the mother, she had not yet been able to train Ralph to eat a well-rounded diet of vegetables or to drink milk regularly.

The recommendations consisted in giving the mother a definite routine of training. Certain things Ralph was to be allowed to do freely. He was to have a room of his own. The father, who was a quiet, calm man, was to take over some of the discipline. Ralph was to have rest periods after each meal, and for thirty minutes after school. A well-rounded diet of vegetables, cereals, milk, and fruit was given. He was to play outdoors after school hours with no more than one or two boys. It was advised that he go to a camp, and the camp master was given suggestions as to diet, exercise, training and associates. It was suggested that he be given a promotion of a half grade in school, in order that he might be

in a class where his mental ability would be challenged. This case is so recent that the results of the treatment cannot yet be given.

Over-anxious parents sometimes nag their children so much that they become very nervous, and as a result, do not sleep or eat well, and a condition of mal-nourishment develops. Mal-nourishment, anemia, under weight, and poor physical condition in general are often caused primarily by worry and nervousness, which in turn are due to anxious and nagging parents.

The case of Helen, aged seven years, is an illustration. Helen's father was a successful lawyer, a rather quick, restless type of man. Helen's mother was an over-anxious, worrying type of woman. Helen was the first child, and was an only child for five years. When she came, the parents decided to leave no stone unturned to have her a perfect child both mentally and physically. Such a determination on the part of parents usually means that they are going to give the child too much attention. A sort of healthy neglect of children is a good thing.

During the first two years, Helen's whole life was arranged with clock-like regularity and, as she developed psychologically, the mother unconsciously tried to arrange her psychological life with the same regularity with which she had planned her physical care. When Helen did not behave just as the mother thought she ought to, she became anxious and perturbed.

Helen entered the 1-B grade when she was five and a half years old. She did very well, was promoted into the second grade at the end of a half year, and when she was seven years of age, owing to the mother's untiring efforts and nagging at the teachers, was forced into 3-B. The psychological test showed that Helen, seven years old physically, had a mental age of nine years. Mentally she was quite able to do

the work, and would have done so had her mother left her alone. But every time she did not have a perfect spelling lesson, or did not get an "excellent" in her arithmetic, her mother would coach her and scold her and compare her to other children on the block who did better work. As a result, Helen's school work was graded as "poor."

She was a sweet, appealing child, very anxious and nervous, with marked twitchings of her whole body. She cried frequently; she picked the skin around her nails until it bled; she bit her nails; she was fidgety and could not sit still. She became very timid and anxious, and developed a slight stutter when she tried to recite in class.

When Helen came to the Clinic, she was given Dr. Max Seham's special fatigue study. During the examination she was very nervous. She had large black circles around her eyes. She sighed often, was restless, and appeared fatigued. She was rather round-shouldered, seemed weak, and was fifteen per cent below weight. A study of her home routine showed that she practised music lessons thirty minutes a day besides doing her school work.

On the basis of the physical examination, it was recommended that she have an extra feeding at half-past three, that she get twelve hours of sleep every night, that she have a fifteen-minute rest period with a pillow under her back twice daily after her meals, that she have a thirty-minute rest period after school, that she play only one hour at a time, and that she be given special exercises for posture and for round shoulders, two minutes at a time twice a day. Her eyes were fitted with glasses to do away with all eye-strain.

On the basis of the study of home and school conditions, it was recommended that the mother remain away from school and never mention her lessons to Helen unless she asked some question about them. The school's interest was enlisted to help the child to make friends and to gain more confidence.

She was given the task of handing out the papers in the room, which gave her a feeling of pleasure and increased her confidence. She was sent to a summer camp, and the camp master was given special instructions as to her diet, rest, and play. The mother was given some instruction about controlling her own anxiety.

Both parents were very co-operative, and they followed out the recommendations to the letter. As a result, Helen is now up to weight; physically she is in fine condition; practically all the nervous symptoms have disappeared, and she is getting along very nicely in school.

The combination of physical and psychological factors causing nervousness is well shown by the study of the case of Elizabeth. Elizabeth was eight years of age. Her intelligence test showed that she was a very brilliant child, for her mental age was twelve years and six months; yet despite this unusual mental capacity she was doing poor work in school, and actually failing in some of her subjects. She was in the 3-B grade. The work was so easy and simple for this child with a mental age of twelve that it did not interest her. She was tense, restless, and inattentive in school. She was so nervous and fidgety that she could not sit still; she ran—never walked; and was so over-talkative that she was a great nuisance to the teachers. When she did try to sit still, she became very tense and rigid. She had dark circles under her eyes; her facial muscles were tense, and she gave the appearance of being anxious and worried.

She was given the complete physical and psychological study arranged for children suffering from fatigue. She was several pounds under weight, was anemic, and was having difficulty cutting her teeth.

Elizabeth's father had died four years before, leaving the mother, Elizabeth, aged four, and Mary, aged ten. It had been necessary for the mother to work, and Mary had carried

on the house work and the training of four-year-old Elizabeth out of school hours. Mary naturally grew into the habit of giving Elizabeth commands, and there was a great deal of friction between the two sisters. It was, of course, impossible for Mary to have the necessary wisdom and patience; Elizabeth became negative, and carried out no commands unless they were backed by force.

Such an atmosphere would make even a strong, well child nervous, and when it was combined with poor physical hygiene, because Mary was not able to arrange the proper diet and rest for Elizabeth, it was bound to result in nervousness and irritability. After a complete physical examination had been given and a study of the home and the school made, the following suggestions were given:

The two children were placed in the home of an intelligent woman who was able, for a moderate sum, to care for them while the mother worked. Mary was relieved of all responsibility for Elizabeth's training. Elizabeth was promoted a half grade in school, into 3-A, and this stimulated her interest. Conditions of life had made it impossible for Elizabeth to have many friends, and so it was suggested that she go to a nearby settlement house where she could come in contact with neighborhood children and have more free play.

The following suggestions were made concerning her physical régime: She was to have nothing to eat between meals. After school she was to play outside until dark. She was to have eleven hours of sleep.

At the end of six months, Elizabeth's physical condition had improved a great deal, and her nervousness, irritability, and tenseness had almost disappeared. By keeping her in a camp during the summer and giving her plenty of sunlight, fresh air, good food and free play, she came back in the autumn entirely free of her old difficulty.

Usually no one factor is entirely responsible for the nerv-

ousness of a child, any more than it is in the case of an adult. For this reason, the completest of physical studies is inadequate unless the entire environment, physical and psychological, is also examined. Nor is treatment adequate which modifies the physical causes and leaves the child to "outgrow" the psychological difficulty. Nervousness in the child, no matter what its cause, is an indication that the treatment which the organism is receiving is either fundamentally or temporarily unsuitable. When it is first realized that the child is becoming nervous, a complete study should be made and whatever changes are recommended should be attempted, no matter how radical they may seem. Too often, when temporary "patching" is undertaken and the symptoms somewhat relieved, the individual merely floats until some later period of stress. Then the breakdown is of a more serious nature.

Nervousness, nervous sleeplessness, and nervous speech difficulties are not "outgrown." Occasionally the recovery is without outside help. The child, however, should not be subjected to the waste of energy and the strain involved in such an unaided return to the normal.

CHAPTER XV

INTELLIGENCE

PREPARATION for parenthood is incomplete if it does not include some knowledge of the part played by the intelligence of the child in his training, and some knowledge of the value of the various tests for estimating his intelligence. Although the standard intelligence tests are accepted by most educators, there is still a mistrust of them on the part of the public. This seems to have as its cause first the fact that it is often more comfortable to guess about unpleasant things than it is to know the truth, and second the fact that adults who have tried the tests for children and failed in them consider that a proof of their lack of validity. The first cause is grounded very firmly in human nature, and the second in a misunderstanding of the tests and of the capacities of the child.

The Binet-Simon test for intelligence which is the one usually given was devised for the testing of children, not adults. A child responds to a question in a simpler and more direct way than an adult. It is assumed by most of us that an adult can do anything that a child can do, and do it better. This touches the very core of our misunderstanding of children, for when we know them better, we are forced to conclude that however different our approach to problems is from theirs, it is not, necessarily, more adequate, and may actually be inferior in the tests devised for them. In almost every group of uninformed adults who are discussing intelligence tests there will be one who will say, "Why, yes, they wanted to give them to the children of our school, and they found that

the principal and the teachers themselves could not pass them.'' This statement shows nothing but a complete lack of understanding of the tests.

In the early years of the century, Binet and Simon gave a certain number of well-defined tasks to a large group of children in a French school system. The results were then carefully studied and tabulated. A large enough group of children was studied so that it could be said fairly definitely what a child of a certain age could do under certain conditions. The child is given sufficient scope to allow for minor differences.

These men did not sit down and figure out some imaginary norm for children and then say that all children should conform to it. They gave actual tests to thousands of children, and modified the tests to meet what was found to be the capacities of these children.

American investigators later adapted the tests to conditions of American life, and standardized them by giving them to hundreds of thousands of children.

After the Binet-Simon test has been given, the child's chronological age and his so-called mental age are compared, and a mathematical quotient between the two is made. This is called the intelligence quotient. A child whose physical age is ten and whose mental age is twelve would be said to have an intelligence quotient of one hundred and twenty. If his mental age were ten also, he would be said to have an intelligence quotient of one hundred. If his mental age were eight, he would be said to have an intelligence quotient of eighty.

Supplementing the Binet-Simon test, and essential to the complete study of the child of school age, are the various achievement tests. There are several sets of these tests that will show with accuracy the attainment of the child in the various school studies. Very often these tests are given the

children as a routine part of the school work. They are as illuminating a test of the school as of the child. For a child who is not progressing, or for one who wishes to move faster, they are invaluable for showing up the weak spots in his previous training. Frequently an intelligent child who is not doing well may be found to be held back mainly by lack of knowledge of some of the fundamentals of arithmetic or of reading. This is especially likely to be true of children who have "skipped" grades or who have changed from one school to another.

There are also many vocational tests that are valuable within limits. Most of them are still in a somewhat vague state, but certain of them show with fair accuracy such things as the capacity for learning of abstract versus concrete subjects, the suitability for outdoor versus indoor occupations, and ability for learning music, drawing, color and so forth. There are also certain trade-achievement tests, which show progress in such lines of work as stenography.

However much all these tests show, they do not tell the whole story. Valuable as they are, they must be considered in the light of other factors in the child's life. An adequate psychiatric examination, a physical examination, a knowledge of the child's medical history and of that of the family, the background of social and economic life and of the type of training, are all essential to the formation of an accurate judgment of the child's capacities. Fatigue states, fear, anxiety at the time of examination, as well as the temperament of the child and his habitual response to life, must all be considered.

The tests are not an absolutely perfect instrument; yet they are invaluable in the study of the child's capabilities. They should never be made by other than a disinterested expert. Tests made on the child by relatives are worse than useless—they are misleading. No matter how expert the

relative may be, tests made by such a person must not be considered. Those made by well-intentioned but only partially informed friends are equally valueless.

The tests have not been given the attention due them by the average parent. The usual feeling is that they are a method of technique serviceable in the detection of the feeble-minded only, whereas they are of invaluable assistance for the direction of the training of the average child and even more so for that of the brilliant child. In directing the intelligent child it is of the greatest assistance to know just how advanced he is, and also to know his *type* of intelligence, attention, and emotional response, and to know his special abilities and capacities. At this point all too many people rest. The inferior intelligence is ignored, or the superior intelligence merely bragged of. What is really only a foundation has been treated as a superstructure. The parent of the superior child, as well as the parent of the inferior child, has a special and difficult problem if his greatest potentialities are to be realized. The child of inferior intelligence becomes a special problem because life is too difficult for him. The child of superior intelligence is equally a problem but the difficulty is of another sort. Brilliant children are often failures because of boredom, or because they are thwarted and irritated by the limits set on them in our educational and social organization.

One essential is that the knowledge gained in regard to the child should not become common property. Except in special cases, it is best that all information in regard to his intelligence should be known only to the parents, the teacher, and the clinic or psychiatrist in charge of the child's education, if there be such. The child himself should never know it, except in certain cases where normal or very brilliant children are discouraged by the belief that they are in-

ferior. Even then very judicious use of the information must be made.

Not long ago a mother said to her fourteen-year-old daughter, who had been informed of her superiority, "You know that you must not do such and such a thing; that is not suitable for a girl of fourteen years."

The girl answered, "Oh, yes, dear mother, but don't forget that although I may be only fourteen, my intelligence is as great as if I were eighteen." This girl is actually handicapped by her four-year mental superiority.

A normal, pleasant girl of twenty once said to a woman to whom she applied for work, "I must tell you one thing. You may have to be patient with me, because I am very stupid. Mother has always said that I was very stupid and I know that my intelligence is not so good as that of my brothers and sisters."

This girl had brilliant but erratic brothers and sisters, to all of whom she was superior in her type of adjustment. It was a great handicap for her to feel herself to be the "intellectual ugly duckling." When the mother was questioned, she said, "It never occurred to me that she would understand what I was saying, and really she has not understood it. She *has misunderstood* because I never, of course, made such statements. She is not as clever as John, nor as brilliant as Mary, and she will of course never equal Charles in anything, but I am sure I have never said she was stupid." It did not require the cleverness of these sisters and brothers for her to perceive that she was considered dull in comparison with them and to be injured by the knowledge.

Behavior difficulties often have their cause in too great a discrepancy between the chronological and the mental age.

Allen was a boy of ten who was a disturbing element at school and at home because of his antagonistic and surly atti-

tude toward parents and teachers. He was guilty of pilfering and of unpermitted absences from school. Aside from these behavior difficulties he appeared to be an average normal boy. A complete psychological and psychiatric study showed him to have a fourteen-year-old intelligence, his "intelligence quotient" being one hundred and forty which is rather high. In the home and in school he was being restricted and controlled like a ten-year-old, and permitted only ten-year-old activities and outlets. His antagonism and insolence can be explained on this ground. His pilfering and "playing hookey" can be explained on the ground of boredom.

He was promoted a half grade at once, and promised that if he did well he would be promoted another half grade in the fall. It was suggested to his mother that she treat him like a fourteen-year-old child, giving him an allowance, and more leeway in hours and more freedom. He was encouraged to join the Junior Scouts. He did well in school and in the fall was given the promised promotion, and his antisocial demeanor diminished and disappeared.

It must not be concluded from this case that "skipping a grade" is all that is necessary. This in itself presents many difficult problems. In the first place, the child must be coached in the fundamentals of the work which he is passing over, so that his future work may rest on a secure foundation. In the second place, advanced intelligence does not necessarily mean advanced social experience and size. To have placed this child in the grade in which the average age was fourteen would have been to do him no kindness, as a ten-year-old child of average size and training would be outclassed, no matter if he were the equal of the other children in intelligence. One full grade promotion was adequate to his size and experience,—although not his intelligence. It is in such cases that the enriching of the curriculum with reading, library work, additional projects and outside interests, is of such

great value. The child will unquestionably remain a special problem in mental hygiene until adulthood, no matter how carefully he is handled.

If the child is somewhat below the average, then a different type of training is necessary. He may be made into a good, useful and happy member of society, but the task is more difficult because he is "picked on" by his environment. Inferiority and badness are not synonymous, although they almost appear so to the public, because of the faulty environment with which the intellectually inferior child is usually surrounded even in a good home.

There is fundamentally no more need for the dull child to become erratic and bad than there is for the very superintelligent one to do so. They both learn to float in a world that is somewhat difficult for them, and there are certain things that they may be taught and certain ways in which they may be handled that will make them efficient, capable, and happy citizens.

Andrew, a boy of ten, was not "floating" in the fourth grade. An examination showed that he was fairly close to normal. He had the intelligence of a boy of nine, an intelligence quotient of ninety, but he was born in a family of superior intelligence. His mother and father were both university graduates and also possessed advanced degrees. He had an elder brother and sister both of whom had intelligence quotients very much higher than the average. At the age of ten these children had been approaching high school. The boy's mother was much disturbed and deeply perplexed by the problem he presented. She visited the school with great regularity, but had little confidence in his teachers, and spent many outside hours coaching her son in his daily work.

A physical examination showed that he was somewhat taller than the average ten-year-old and inclined to obesity. He was a faithful worker and he worried greatly—a fact which

left its traces in fine puckered lines of anxiety on his round face. As might be expected, he was "no good" in the branch of athletics which he had chosen—running, and his failure in this field had added another humiliation to his long list.

Andrew was shifted to another school where his previous failure to establish himself socially would not be against him. It was suggested that he go in for swimming and football, where his weight would be for rather than against him. The understanding and sympathy of his teachers were enlisted, and he was given the job of a monitor to help him overcome his feeling of inferiority. His mother was asked to discontinue all coaching and school visiting, and to leave his educational work to the teacher.

After one year he is making fair progress along the lines both of school and social adjustment.

But the greatest difficulty in the case of this child is the feeling of his family and their friends that intellectual attainment only is worth while. They were asked to get him a wood-working bench and tools, and to make a definite problem of *their own attitude* toward his productions. They were to educate themselves to see that the work of hand and brain in construction may be as valuable as the work of the brain only.

Nor does the task of re-educating themselves end here. Eventually Andrew's brother and sister will fill "white collar" positions of responsibility, while Andrew may be limited to some simple trade work. The parents must prepare themselves to accept such a condition *as desirable*.

There is no reason in this boy's somewhat limited intelligence for failure. He is willing and earnest, more willing and earnest, his father says, than either his brother or sister. His handicap is his "superior" environment and the obvious difference between him and the rest of his family.

If inferior intelligence is discovered, the parent must face

it with absolute honesty. There is nothing so fatal as for a parent to seek an "alibi" for the situation. The parent who says that his child "is a little backward on account of mal-nutrition" is not saving himself anything in the long run, and is not helping the child by ignoring his condition; leaving him to find his own remedy will certainly handicap him, whereas intelligent, special training can certainly not hurt him.

To keep the child in an unsuitable environment is not giving him "the benefit of the doubt," nor is it beneficial, as so many people think, to have a child with less intelligence associate *always* with children of greater intelligence. It may on the contrary build up in him a tragic feeling of inferiority.

Charles, a boy of seven, had been diagnosed as a "case of mal-nutrition" and so treated for four years. He did, indeed, suffer from mal-nutrition of a severe order, but it was not the cause but the result of a primary inferiority. In common with many people of inferior mentality, he had also a very inferior physique. Tests showed that he had the intelligence of a child of three and a half—an intelligence quotient of 50. The mother was at first unwilling to accept this diagnosis, but after another examination which confirmed the first one, she asked for instruction in regard to his rearing. It was recommended that he be placed in a suitable school for retarded children for the following reasons:

(1) The type of training required for the education of such children is highly specialized and very difficult, and the usual home is not well equipped for carrying it out. (2) The child needs the association of people of his own intellectual level. It is harmful for him to find himself unwanted and inadequate in the games and lives of his brothers and sisters. (3) Most important of all, it is not fair to the normal children in a family that their lives should be made un-

happy and their adjustment jeopardized by the presence of the less well endowed child. Perhaps no one of these reasons, taken separately, is sufficient to cause the removal of the child from his home, but taken together they certainly are sufficient.

This child's stay in his home had already been unduly prolonged by the idea that his difficulty was caused by mal-nutrition. In a study of the school children of Germany, made by one of the authors during the occupation of the Rhine and Moselle country just after the armistice, it was found that even in severe cases of mal-nutrition the intelligence was not affected. Children in all stages of mal-nutrition were seen, children whose fatigue state was such that it was difficult to arouse them from sleep while they sat at their desks, who nevertheless showed no impairment of their fundamental "intelligence."

To conclude, the question is not only, what is the degree of capacity of the child, but also, how is it to be utilized in order to make the most of it? Intelligence may be compared to the engine of the automobile: it is the horsepower that moves the car. But the emotions are like the driver, who controls the destinies of the car and determines how the power of the engine shall be utilized. And, to continue the analogy, it is possible to get farther in a very poor car with a driver who is determined to progress along some particular route than in a much more powerful car whose driver is erratic and changeable or fearful or discouraged.

The degree of intelligence is fixed. The emotions are the modifiable element. It is in the training of the emotions that we must put forth our best effort for making the child an effective human being.

PART III

CHAPTER XVI

THE WRITTEN RECORD

Modern psychological studies have taught us the value of systematic record-making in connection with any study of behavior. Such a record is just as valuable to the parent who studies the behavior of the child as it is to the psychiatrist. It is valuable to the parent because it brings his own work concisely in review before him and forces him to pass judgment on it. It helps him to determine the causes of behavior and to see which of his methods have been successful, by giving him a systematic method of checking up on his own technique. It also helps him to judge the effect on the child of those outside factors over which he may or may not have control, and prevents him from under- or over-valuing them, and helps him to formulate, in his own mind, the changes necessary in the child's training and environment.

Whether or not the parent's judgment of the child is written, it is formed in his mind. The more systematic and permanant the record, the more fair and just the judgment. The vaguer mental record is likely to be inaccurate because it is subject to the tendencies of forgetting and suppressing. The record should not be used as a "doom's day book" in which the parent records the child's good and bad deeds in imitation of the Recording Angel. It should, indeed, not be discussed or referred to in the presence of the child, nor left where he can read it. Nor should he be permitted to feel that the study is either for his glory or his discredit.

A study of any child will include a picture of the parents

and the household as well. Very often the portrayal of the recorder is more vivid than that of the child. The "day by day" record may easily be called a chronicle of events rather than a study.

That it should be truthful and in no way garbled is absolutely essential, for it has a great potential value as a record of the past should it become necessary in later years to make a study of the individual for some specific difficulty.

A number of years ago we had occasion to see a boy with a serious stutter. The father of this boy had been his very intimate companion, and we felt that a very good case history and description of his early youth would be obtainable. The father gave the boy's history in detail. He told us that the stuttering had begun at the age of twelve, when the boy had had an unusually severe accident and a number of operations had been necessary in order to remedy a badly broken leg. No matter how closely we questioned, we were unable to learn of any indication of stuttering previous to that time.

Under ordinary circumstances, we would have been obliged to accept this as a true picture, but this parent had kept a day-by-day diary for the first ten years of the boy's life. We were able to examine it, and we found that the very first record of the boy's speech made the statement that the boy stuttered. There were fifty notes with regard to stuttering in the first two years of the records, and consistent notations with regard to it thereafter. This fact had been completely wiped out of the father's conscious memory. This may seem remarkable, but it is not at all uncommon to find that things which distress us are very likely to be forgotten.

While certain unpleasant incidents in the life of a child are likely to be pushed out of the memory of the parent, it is also true that certain items take on a greater significance in the light of later events than they are entitled to. In the history of children or adults who have developed any peculi-

arities of behavior, or who have spasms of any sort, it is very common to find shock and falls very much over-estimated as a cause of the difficulty. A child may have fallen and been stunned for a few minutes, and have then recovered and gone on with his affairs with no particular ill-effect, but if in later years some disability occurs for which the parents do not know the reason, it is only natural to think of the fall or accident as a possible cause. It is very easy in such an event to exaggerate the length of the unconscious period, the severity of the blow and the general after effects. In cases of psychological shock, it is easy to over-picture the amount of distress, or of sleeplessness, or loss of appetite. Events are likely to be dramatized in retrospect, but this is not so likely to occur if the experience has been recorded very carefully at the time.

Two little girls were playing together at the side of a fireplace. One of them caught fire and was burned to death. The other child, who was only three years old, seemed to be very little affected by the tragedy. The child who was burned was carried immediately out of her sight, and the little girl had, of course, at that time, no conception of death.

In later years this child developed a definite neurotic tendency with regard to fire, which was laid to this experience. A study of the situation, however, showed that the neurotic tendency was due to the fact that *from this time on* the mother had been very much terrified by the child's slightest approach to the fireplace, and had taught the fear to the child as she developed. In other words, it was the mother's attitude with regard to the accident and not the child's that was the determining factor in the neurosis. A diary describing exactly how the child had behaved would have helped to straighten out this point.

Studies of the child should be made with no thought of publication, for, from the moment such an idea enters the record-

er's mind, the benefit to the child of the study is at an end. The recorder becomes an interested party, and he will, in spite of his best intentions, "put his best foot forward" in presenting the material, or will dramatize the participants. If the work is being done with a view to publication, then another study running parallel to it should be made for the enlightenment of the recorder.

The incidents of a person's life may be recorded in many different ways. A day-by-day diary is perhaps the commonest method. While the diary has the advantage of giving small and often significant incidents, it has the disadvantage of being in no sense a summary, and at intervals it is necessary to go through it, sort the material and follow some sort of scheme suitable for its study. The diary of a child's life should be preceded by a systematized study, in order that the attention of the diarist be drawn to the most needful points.

There are many methods for the recording of personality studies.[1] These were devised primarily for the study of adults who had suffered from a severe enough degree of maladjustment to bring them under the care of psychiatrists in institutions for the psychopathic. It has required much modification to make them adequate and suitable for the study of the normal child. Such study outlines are called case history outlines. To be of service to the parent they must, of course, be phrased in non-psychiatric terminology, and be arranged so that they are to a certain extent self-explanatory.

But preceding the filling in of the case history outline is needed some scheme for the study and recording of traits. This should be organized in such a way that it pictures the fundamental drives of the person rather than the symptomatic and incidental behavior. This need the authors have endeavored to meet with the trait chart which follows. In or-

[1] One of the first and best of these is "A Study of the Personality" by Hoch and Amsden.

der that the parent be encouraged to check up on his own judgment, it is suggested that the section of the "trait chart" at the head of each section be checked lightly in pencil before a reading of the section, and that at the end of the reading the check be remade:

The "Cross on the Line" Method of Rating:

Below each Trait you will see a line.

A cross in the middle of that would indicate that in your judgment the child had arrived at an ideal average of this trait as here indicated.

A cross at either end would indicate that extreme.

The extent of the tendency to vary from the ideal average would be indicated by the distance from the center or ideal average which you place your cross.

Place the cross anywhere on the line that you think it belongs.

In order to offset the tendency displayed by most parents to *place the cross in the center of the line* in every case they may be reminded that most of the effective men and women of history would not receive such a rating on all traits.

CHAPTER XVII

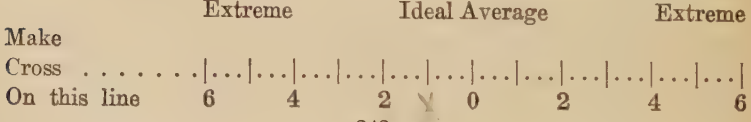
SELF-CONFIDENCE—AGGRESSIVENESS—SUGGESTIBILITY

Character Traits

In response to the needs of a very highly complicated type of group-living, human beings develop what we call character traits, or typical modes of response to stimuli. It is usually felt that any given trait is serviceable or unserviceable, good or bad. It is a much more accurate, as well as a more helpful conception, to think of any trait as having two unserviceable extremes, with a norm, imaginary, to be sure, and fluctuating, in the middle. As the traits are developed in response to the needs of group-living, they can be evaluated from the standpoint of group serviceability. Possessed of one extreme of a trait, the person will be too egocentric, too much for self. With the other extreme he will be overwhelmed by the group. In any trait the serviceable and healthful norm lies somewhere between.

Self-Confidence

Extreme Group Adjustment		**Extreme Ego Adjustment**
Timid and self-distrustful. Shy, never makes decisions, self-effacing.	Modest but willing to stand up for rights. Able to make decisions. Docile.	Absolutely confident and sure of own decisions. Takes everything as his due.



The degree of self-confidence of a person is an excellent indicator of the basic adjustment of that individual to the group. Self-confidence is often misjudged, since normal but unconcealed self-confidence is often rated as vanity; and humility is often over-rated.

When one teaches "humility" he usually teaches one of two things—a real learning to value one's self, to look at one's self through the perspective of the ages, or hypocrisy. Obviously, a child cannot be trained to look at himself through the eyes of the Greeks or the Romans. He can be taught to value himself only in relation to the *other children in his environment* and in relation to the behavior of the *adults in his environment.*

Normal self-confidence means that the possessor is able to examine himself, to see his capacities and incapacities, and then go ahead. It does not mean that one believes himself to be either a genius, or of no value to society. The first would be too extreme an ego adjustment; the second too extreme a group adjustment.

We may define normal self-confidence as being modest, but willing to stand up for one's rights; able to make decisions, but docile. We may define the ego extreme of this trait as being absolutely confident and sure of one's due, and unwilling to accept the decisions or suggestions of others. At the other extreme we have the timid, self-distrustful, self-effacing person who never makes decisions.

This is a "camouflage" trait. The only people who are not timid to a certain extent are great criminals. The great criminal believes absolutely in his own decisions, and is unwilling to be directed at all by the social necessities.

To say that one has a streak of timidity means that he adjusts to the group, but to be happily adjusted in this regard means that one must see himself as having a certain definite value in the group. The idea of modifying one's self to the

group sometimes frightens an individual, and in order to forget his own feeling of distrust and group necessity, he "leans over backward" and becomes bold and sensational.

It is easy for people to overvalue timidity and judge it falsely. It is common to hear an adult say of a child, or of another adult, "He has n't a streak of timidity in him. He is bold and confident." *This is so rare that such a statement must always be questioned.*

A woman was once talking about two little girls. When she was introduced to these two children and their mother, one of the little girls hid her face in the folds of her mother's skirt. The other little girl ran up and pulled at the visitor's hand. The second child was "very bold"; the first little girl was "self-effacing," and the woman commented that "good, old-fashioned timidity" was the thing she liked, while the absolute confidence of the other little girl was a distressing "modern" attitude. The visitor was lacking in perception for, doubtless, the little girl who ran up and pulled her hand was really suffering from a profounder lack of self-confidence than the shy little girl, but *she* knew how to camouflage her feeling.

In order to overcome exceeding shyness or an apparent excessive boldness, we must teach the child the actual relationship between himself and others—his actual relative value. He must be taught not only to admit his own virtues with due modesty, but also to see his faults. Very often this capacity is defined as a sense of humor, by which is meant a sense of perspective.

A great many parents have the idea that to brag on a child or to compliment him on doing things well will make him bold and excessively self-confident. This is an old puritanical idea and was accepted by the majority of people about thirty to fifty years ago. "Never brag of a child," but always mention his faults and failures, has been a very common and destructive system of training.

This method is not successful. The child who is told when he does succeed is thereby given a measure of judgment. If he never receives praise for success, he has no way of judging failures. In a young child's social adjustment, he has only one way of understanding when he has or when he has not been successful, and that is when the parent expresses his opinion on the subject. If the parent tells him always of his failures, then he is not so well able to judge his successes.

The lack of real, genuine self-confidence is at the root of an enormous amount of mental and emotional illness, because it is possible that a person may live an active and fairly successful life, may know intellectually that he is a success, and that what he does is worth while, and yet have an emotional hangover from childhood that makes him *feel* all the time that what he has done is worthless.

This profound conflict between the intellectual and the emotional attitudes may be the basis for a real nervous breakdown.

Of course, it is not advised that everything a child does should be praised; nevertheless there are very few of his acts that do not have in them some element worthy of mention, and this should be spoken of to the child at the same time that his failure is brought into prominence. *This is especially true during adolescence.*

A girl of fifteen developed a very definite depression because her mother had a way of saying to her after company had left, "Mary Ann, you talked too much." She might have said, "You talked very well, but you must learn when not to talk." But she did not say this, because she wished to make her daughter talk less. The girl, who was really under more or less of an emotional strain owing to a marked feeling of inferiority, and whose talking was a result of this, became more and more unable to find the correct level of adjustment in the group. Finally, for fear she would not make her

adjustment properly, she began staying away from all groups, and eventually went into a mild state of melancholia.

Of course, the excessive talking so late in adolescence showed that she was not adjusting well, but since she had reached that state, the easiest way to force her into a mental sickness was to mention the excessive talking without speaking to her of the compensatory element of her conversational skill.

It must be remembered that children and young people faced with this tremendous and complex problem of making social adjustments are morbidly sensitive. They have only one way to learn, and that is from approval and disapproval, and the adult is cruel and heartless who always subjects them to disapproval and who never tells them what they have accomplished in the way of good.

Many adolescents, especially the superior ones, have an exalted ideal for their own social behavior. They analyze their entrance into the room, the way in which they shook hands, the way in which they carried their end of the conversation and, having an impossible ideal, always think that they have failed. These adolescents, because of too great a sensitiveness in response to the group, often become morose, and find life unendurable, and often stay away from the social group at a time when it means the most to them.

It is necessary to persuade these young people that those whom they meet are not so sensitive in regard to social skill as to perceive the errors which they feel they have committed.

It is foolish, it is brutal on the part of the parent to try to persuade the child that every appearance he makes in the social group must be one hundred per cent perfect, for such perfection does not exist, and if the child could achieve it, not one out of a thousand of his audience would appreciate it!

Some parents unconsciously feel that their children are their rivals, that they are members of the next generation who

are going to supersede them, and without analyzing it in this way, they permit themselves to criticize their behavior and actions in a way that simply shows their lack of confidence in themselves.

There is nothing more fatal to our own social capacities than the desire under which many of us labor to "take the other fellow down a peg"—to use the vernacular.

Every parent should analyze the situation very frankly, and should make up his mind as to the amount of leeway for social failure which he is going to allow for in his child, realizing that it is only through training that we are able to succeed, and that no practice work is perfect.

To hurt a child's self-confidence is to hurt him in his most vulnerable spot, and in the way that is most destructive in his after years of adjustment.

AGGRESSIVENESS

Extreme Group Adjustment		**Extreme Ego Adjustment**
Never fights for anything; or is teased and bullied by others; or is imposed upon.	Good-tempered, reasonable. Fights when provoked — not before. Volunteers in group work.	Has his own way at all cost. Never considers the rights of others; or is a bully, cruel.

	Extreme			Ideal Average			Extreme
Make Cross On this line	6	4	2	0	2	4	6

Aggressiveness is a great indicator of the mental and emotional health of an individual and of the degree of his self-confidence. From the standpoint of mental health, it is better to be too aggressive than not to be aggressive enough.

Perhaps the general run of people, the group, will prefer the individual who is not aggressive, but that is because they may impose on him with greater safety. However, when aggressiveness is successful, its possessor becomes a popular idol.

Most of the great leaders of the race have been aggressive, even some of those of whom we think as having had the profoundest humility.

We have many truisms that express our racial feeling for aggressiveness. "Know you are right," we say, "and then go ahead." We say that we must stand up for our ideals, that we must fight for the right even on the scaffold. All of these aphorisms are an effort to teach the right amount of aggressiveness and the right time at which to use it.

The desirable norm for aggressiveness is to be good-tempered and reasonable, to fight when provoked but not before, and to be able to volunteer in group work, but not to demand the right of the entire floor for one's self.

That individual is not adjusting to the group successfully who will have his own way at all costs and will never consider the rights of others. These things will make of him what we call a "bully" and will cause him to be, though often without his intention, cruel and inconsiderate.

On the other hand, a person whose adjustment to the group is too complete, who believes too profoundly in the necessity of the group, and who thinks of it, perhaps, unconsciously, as superior to the individual, who never fights for anything and is teased and bullied by others, is not making a successful adjustment.

The majority of people do not find even the imaginary norm in the trait of aggressiveness. The healthy person comes nearer being one who will have his own way at all costs than one who never fights for anything. This is one of the traits, however, that is most given to camouflage. Many people who do not desire to fight for anything, who are really teased and

bullied by others, will "put up a fight," as we call it, will make an effort to show fight, and will sometimes be cruel in their efforts not to appear cowardly.

When a person has one extreme of a trait and tries to conceal it, he often appears to have the other extreme. This is called "over-compensation," and it must be taken into consideration in judging all behavior.

A boy of six walked into the room of a physician. He looked up at him and then said, "I 'm taller than you are."

The physician said, "How could you be taller than a grown man! I am taller than you."

"Well, then, I can count," said the boy, "I can count to twenty."

This boy was not truly aggressive. His aggressiveness was a cover for an excessive tendency in the other direction. It is only by considering this trait in connection with the entire behavior of the individual that one can learn to evaluate it truly.

Suggestibility

Extreme Group Adjustment		**Extreme Ego Adjustment**
Too easily modified by suggestion. Never leads, always follows. Believes everything he is told. "Negative."	Willing to yield to proper authority. Follows the crowd reasonably.	Not modified by suggestion. Ignores requests, signs, rules.

	Extreme			Ideal Average			Extreme
Make Cross On this line	6	4	2	0	2	4	6

Normal suggestibility may be defined as willingness to yield to proper authority, willingness to follow a crowd reasonably.

Of course, the difficulty lies in the definition of the words "proper" and "reasonable." Many times failure to accept authority is due to a lack of knowledge as to who is the proper authority. This is especially true with adolescents who are torn by conflicting emotions of which they are only dimly conscious.

At one extreme there is the person who is not modified by suggestion, and who absolutely ignores requests and rules. The person who is really not touched by suggestion is quite rare. He is usually a person who is somewhat stupid, although he may be extremely superior, with excessive aggressiveness—the type of self-confidence found in the great criminals.

The other extreme of this type of behavior is the person too easily modified by suggestion, who never leads, who believes everything he is told, who believes that the people in his group are always right, and who follows every suggestion given to him.

The negative type of person is usually classed as not modified by suggestion, but this is a false classification. Many children from two and one-half to three years old, or older, who take every suggestion in the negative and are really extremely suggestible are examples of this type.

If you say to a child, "Come, kiss me good-bye," and he runs to the other side of the room, it is not because he is showing his *will power*. He is just as suggestible as any other child, but he shows it in a negative form.

The form of "negative suggestibility," which is excessive suggestibility shown in the negative, is usually a sign of illness. It is oftenest due to thoughtless and careless training by adults.

A child who is not at all modified by suggestion will ignore signs and rules. A child who is "negative-suggestible" rarely ignores them, but always does the *opposite*. There are a great

many adults in this class also. A "negative-suggestible" parent will nearly always have children whose adjustment is faulty.

Alice, aged three, was sitting by the fire talking to a visitor when her grandfather entered the room. The grandfather had been walking and was warm, and did not wish to come to the fire. He went to the back of the room to a comfortable chair and called the child to him. She was interested in the presence of the strange individual, and stood looking at the visitor. She was also more comfortable by the fire.

When the child did not respond to the grandfather's call, he said in a most mournful voice, "Alice does n't love grandfather. Poor grandfather." This had very little effect, because she did not realize the seriousness of the crime. Then the grandfather said, "Alice won't come kiss grandfather. Poor old granddaddy, Alice won't come kiss him."

The child looked at him and laughed in a very pleasant way, because to her it was an amusing though slightly disturbing game that he was playing, but she did not go and kiss him, although quite obviously she had the impulse to do so in spite of what he had said.

When he got up to leave he said, "Alice is n't going to kiss grandfather good-bye," and sure enough, Alice did not kiss grandfather good-bye, although she had a rather wistful look as she went to the window and watched him go out.

This old gentleman is carefully training in this child a reaction exactly opposite to the one he wishes. Parents, under the impression that it shows strength of character, sometimes make a definite effort at training their children in this way. An adult, especially someone who comes in less frequently than the mother—an aunt or the grandmother perhaps—will find the child playing. The adult wishes to kiss the child and to be kissed by him. The child wishes to go ahead with his play. When the visitor says, "Come, kiss

me," the child does not respond. Then he is told, "Very well, you can't kiss me now." He is either hurt and puzzled by the performance, or he accepts the negative suggestion and comes and kisses the adult.

This particular method of behavior is extremely common and for some reason that is just a little difficult to understand is considered quite a legitimate method for getting one's way with a child.

One woman said to us, "My grandson is passing through the 'negative stage,' but that is very common and I know that he has to go through it. I was negative at his age, but I have learned how to work him. Whenever I wish him to do anything, I ask him to do the opposite." Obviously the grandmother had never outgrown her own negativeness. Whatever she saw the boy doing, she wished to change to something else, or to suppress.

The second cause for the development of the negative stage is a "smothering" of the child with love. Nothing so disturbs, nothing so makes negative an individual as to be excessively loved and have an excessive demonstration of love required of him when he is not in the humor for it. We realize this about other adults. Why it is so lightly thought of with regard to children is a mystery, except that it is a common feeling that children are owned by their parents, and that the parents have done so much for them that the children should love them as a matter of routine.

This so-called negative stage is very common, but when analyzed it will usually be found to be due to efforts to dominate the child intellectually and emotionally in some way that he cannot tolerate psychologically. This is very true in adolescence when the child's desires and wishes which cannot be fulfilled, instead of being met with reasons, explanations, and talks, are met with, "Mother knows best," or "Father knows best." These are soporifics in which the child

sees the fallacy at once, and to which parents may easily become addicted because they require no thinking.

Negative suggestibility should not be looked on as "strength of character," but should be classified as too great a suggestibility. It should be considered an indication that the attitude of the adult in the child's environment is wrong. It is a direct evidence that the training of the child needs to be modified.

The child must be motivated from within; unless it is possible to make his own wishes coincide with the activity which is desired, negativeness will certainly result.

CHAPTER XVIII

DEMONSTRATIVENESS, GREGARIOUSNESS AND SOCIAL ADEQUACY

DEMONSTRATIVENESS

Extreme Group Adjustment		Extreme Ego Adjustment
Extremely fond of fondling and caressing, even from strangers.	Accepts and returns reasonable amount of show of affection from family and friends.	Indifferent to demonstration of affection. Antagonistic.

	Extreme			Ideal Average			Extreme
Make Cross On this line	6	4	2	0	2	4	6

NORMAL demonstrativeness may be defined as a willingness to accept and return a reasonable amount of show of affection from friends and family. The word "reasonable" leaves, of course, a large margin of debatable ground.

An extreme indifference to demonstration of affection, and actual antagonism to other people, may be classed as one extreme in this trait, whereas extreme fondness of fondling and caressing, even from strangers, is the other extreme. Demonstrativeness in the child cannot be considered without considering also the demonstrativeness of the adults in the child's environment.

Most children who show an extreme, excessive necessity for fondling are children whose self-confidence has been badly hurt in some way, very often by adults who are first very

tender and gentle and then rather careless in expressing their affection and approval. The moody type of person is inclined to hug and kiss a child one minute, and the next set him down in an absent-minded way as though he were a piece of furniture. A pouty, moody, or changeable parent or adult is usually back of every child who finds this necessity for continual reassurance. It may also be caused by the fact that one parent is very fond of the child and the other less so.

Many children become the victims of parents whose emotional lives are empty. Parents who are unhappy because their love life is unfulfilled pour out an excessive amount of love and tenderness on the child. This of course is the grave danger of an only child, or the child of an unhappy marriage.

A child who insists on fondling, who has to be constantly assured that he is loved, is really in need of help. In some way this child's confidence in his own capacities and in his own worth has been badly hurt. His need for fondling is in response to a profound feeling of insecurity. Kindergarten teachers are more aware of this type of child than any other group of workers, because every kindergarten group has at least one of them, who must be fondled and who must be told perpetually how he is getting along and how he is doing.

A normal infant tolerates caresses rather than welcomes them, because he has not yet learned the worth of anyone but himself, or he makes a game of them. A healthy young child likes to feel that his parents are near, and happy and agreeable, but he should not have to run to either parent for reassurance as to a love about which there should be no doubt in his mind.

Often excessive demonstrativeness is seen in children, one of whose parents is very tender and the other very harsh. A child has a right to two affectionate, friendly parents whose relationship to each other is also affectionate and friendly.

When this does not exist, the child's happy adjustment to life is in jeopardy.

Excessive demonstrativeness on the part of the parents or some other member of the family may result in the child's swinging to the other extreme. Or, if the child is too hampered by the training he is receiving or too pressed by the necessity for co-operating and adjusting, he may swing to an extreme state of indifference or even dislike.

Virginia was a member of a family consisting of mother and father, three older brothers, and the grandparents on the father's side. She was pointed out in the neighborhood as a model child. It was never necessary to tell her anything but once. She picked up her clothing and playthings, and was immaculate and well-mannered. Her father's discipline was considered a trifle strict, for he believed in "training early and training fast." The mother and grandmother believed in "moral suasion." The boys were not as amenable to training as the girl. They teased and nagged her for anything that they wanted until she gave in to them. She worked energetically in school, and was considered an extremely satisfactory child, although not very interesting. One significant comment made by the family was "she is the only one in the family who gets petted much. You can call her to you and hug her and kiss her to your heart's content."

But between her ninth and tenth year a sudden change took place. She ceased to be satisfactory either at home or in school. With her brothers she fought almost continuously. To any wish expressed by the family she responded with the direct opposite. She refused to be petted and declined to be either hugged or kissed. At the time of her father's illness and death which occurred in her tenth year, she expressed neither grief nor regret, but was almost solely interested in the fact that she was to go away from home on a visit.

This child's extreme docility in early years was just as

"sick" a trait as was her later unmanageableness. It was not so considered because it was less annoying to the group.

GREGARIOUSNESS

Extreme Group Adjustment		Extreme Ego Adjustment
Unhappy when alone. Extremely fond of companionship. No resources for amusing self.	Fond of social contact, but can be happy alone.	Solitary, prefers to be alone. Seclusive.

	Extreme			Ideal Average			Extreme
Make Cross	|...|...|...|...|...|...|...|...|...|...|...|...|...|...|						
On this line	6	4	2	0	2	4	6

Extreme gregariousness may be considered nearly normal in a child. Gregariousness is a normal trait in adults. The human being, to be successful, must live in the group, and unless he enjoys the group, he is not likely to be a success in it. It is also true that unless he is a success in it he is not likely to enjoy it, but whether he is successful or not, if he is normal, he has a *desire* to be successful.

Normal gregariousness might be defined as a fondness for social contact but a capacity for being happy for short intervals when alone. To omit either of these two capabilities indicates a poor type of social adjustment. The extreme individualistic attitude is to prefer to be solitary and alone. Seclusiveness is usually indicative of a certain amount of maladjustment, and should be considered very serious in any individual up to the age of twenty-four or five, because withdrawal from the group through adolescence and the early years shows that something has gone wrong in the capacity of the individual to adjust.

On the other hand, the individual who is unhappy when alone and who finds an absolute necessity for companionship, who has no resources for amusing himself and occupying himself and filling his mind, is sure to have difficulties. Many situations arise in life where it is impossible to have companionship of the right sort. The individual who has this almost compulsive necessity for companionship is likely, under such circumstances, to select companions of the wrong sort. But on the whole, we are inclined, perhaps, to put a little too much emphasis on the capacity to enjoy remaining alone. Many people speak of the fact that they prefer the solitude of the country to the association of their peers.

Perhaps the thing which we might define as print-fetish in our civilization has been a factor here. A surprising number of people assume that to like books in preference to people is to show superiority. A parent will often say of a child, "Yes, he likes to read. He would rather be reading than playing with the other children," thinking of this as a desirable trait and that, in some way, it indicates special talent. It is usually true that a child who prefers to read rather than to be with the group, does so because he is not able to adjust to the group, and finds, in this way, a means of forgetting his lack of group success. It is not healthy for a child to be an efficient reader at too early an age. People and not books are his province until he himself has experience.

In judging the desire to be alone, we must be on the watch for unsuccessful gregariousness. A person who likes to be with people but who is not successful with them will often over-compensate by apparently wishing to remain alone.

The normal child will tend to be extremely fond of companionship, and to have very little, if any, resource for amusing himself. He must, of course, be trained gradually to find resources in his own psychological life and to find play

outlets for himself, but if he is left too much to his own resources, it is often difficult to draw the line between day-dreaming and playing. Many children in their play with dolls are day-dreaming, identifying themselves with the hero and living an imaginary gregariousness, which is unhealthy in much the same way that too much reading is unhealthy.

Susan, aged seven, who had been "told on" by her brother, was called in out of the yard by her mother and confined to her room for an hour as a punishment for her naughtiness. Her paper dolls were in the room and she at once began playing with them and developed the following plot:

The characters were a mother, brother and sister. The girl doll who was seven years old had many dresses and was very beautiful. The brother was rather unattractive. As the plot unrolled he met with a severe accident and amidst quite a bit of wailing died and was buried. The girl was then mysteriously taken ill. She also died. The grief of the paper doll parent was heart-rending. It exceeded the grief for the boy as the mountain exceeds the proverbial mole-hill. And then on the eve of burial, it was discovered that the apparent death was due to an apple lodged in the child's throat—the same thing that had happened to Snow-White in the fairy tale.

She was resuscitated, and a dramatic scene ensued in which the mother on bended knee craved pardon for everything she had ever done, and after some pleading was forgiven.

When at the end of the hour the real child was released she went over to her mother and dramatically remarked, "I forgive you, mother dear."

Of even more interest than the inadequacy of the punishment in this case is the excellent picture of the type of day-dream to which the child resorted when she was denied the association of the group.

SOCIAL ADEQUACY

Extreme Group Adjustment		**Extreme Ego Adjustment**
Never left alone Leader of his gang. Autocratic.	Popular with people his own age and type.	Unpopular, avoided; or pouts, sulks.

	Extreme			Ideal Average			Extreme
Make Cross	|...|...|...|...|...|...|...|...|...|...|...|						
On this line	6	4	2	0	2	4	6

As demonstrativeness and gregariousness indicate the attitude of the individual toward the group, so social adequacy may be said to indicate the attitude of the group toward the individual.

Many people wish to be and are gregarious; they wish to have contact with others but are far from successful in their contact; they are far from being socially adequate. They accept the group but the group does not accept them. This, very often, in the case of young people and adolescents especially, is because they think always of the group as something to contribute to their welfare and happiness, just as they had thought of their family. People of their own age will not tolerate this. The young individual must learn to contribute to the group in the same way that he expects the group to contribute to him. This is especially difficult for children who have been reared alone.

The child's capacity for getting along with the group is established at the expense of the family. It is essential as adolescence approaches that the child wean himself from his family, establish himself with a group of his peers, and eventually select a mate and marry; and the wise parent will help this process along. This he often does to the best of his ability. He attempts to help the child establish himself

in a group, and attempts to help him select a mate, without realizing that *the first step is to help him to wean himself from the family.* The parent must, apparently, obliterate himself. In reality the child may come back in a more friendly and affectionate way than ever.

The child feels the difference between freedom with an invitation to stay and the heavy hand that would force him to stay. Psychologically, it is easy for a parent to hold a child by making him feel that his happiness is being wrecked by the child's need to get away. If the parent does feel that he is surrendering to some terrible fate by permitting the child to go out and find his own group and to wean himself from his family, then the parent's attitude toward life is wrong.

No one owns the right to another individual's love, and to assume that one does can lead to nothing but tragedy. Companionship, affection, friendliness, and love are desirable, but a sense of obligation in connection with any of them is destructive to the very state which the person wishes to create. The parent must live his own emotional life, must have not only an economic, but also an intellectual and an emotional, income outside the life of the child. He or she must have work that is enjoyable, and the association and intellectual life that keep him from feeling that life is wrapped up in his relationship to his child. To rear children in order to feed one's own inner life is a tragedy to the child, in that it places him under conflicting emotional necessities. This is such a common cause for mental and nervous breakdowns in both the child and the parent that it is difficult to over-emphasize it.

To be socially adequate a person should be popular with people of his own age and type. "Of his own age and type" is a very important part of this statement. Many people think of themselves as unpopular when they are really com-

paring themselves with the wrong group. This is especially true of children reared in homes where there is a certain amount of finesse and delicacy of relationship. When children so reared attempt to float in a group where no particular delicacy is expected, where the contacts are rather coarse, where the standards of behavior are perhaps different, they find themselves unsuccessful.

This is also the problem of the child who is above the average in intelligence. He is likely to select as his associates children of his own mental rather than physical age, and this sometimes forces him into groups where the standards and emotional states are somewhat too advanced for him.

A similar situation may arise when the family of the child is of the type which has social ambition, and where the effort is to be intimate with people of a "desirable" social group. Here the child is not permitted to select his friends for their companionableness and similarity but is, rather, urged to choose them for some special fitness specified by the adult.

A child will find his own level, and very often children with marked intelligence, aggressiveness, and inventiveness will select companions who, to the eye of the parent, are not socially desirable, but who have the same traits as the child.

A mother was in great distress about her nine-year-old boy. There were in the block four other children of the same type of family; well-behaved, model children with whom she wished her child to play. He, on the other hand, had selected as his intimates the children of a family of very inferior social status who had recently moved into the neighborhood. These children were not controlled by their parents as were the other children in that section. They were permitted to rove very much at will over the large building in which one of them worked, and to wander through the houses and wharves that were along the waterfront.

When these two groups of children were analyzed, it was found that the four well-behaved little models were far from interesting. They did nothing constructive, nothing inventive. They had, in other words, nothing to contribute to this nine-year-old, intelligent boy who really had aggressiveness and personality.

The undesirables, on the other hand, were really vigorous. They were virile. They had much to contribute, especially to this boy who had been thwarted in his own inventiveness. If one of them fell in the water he was not coddled and put to bed, but spanked for being careless.

It is our feeling that the boy showed more ability for selecting suitable playmates than his mother. In the long run the harm to his table manners and to his willingness to wash behind his ears would be greatly offset by the good that he would get from these children in their dealings with the necessities of life. This less "desirable" social group was on a more vigorous, more primitive, and more self-sustaining level, and a healthier one for the child, than were the "properly" brought up children of the neighborhood. He had selected people of his own age and type, although they were not of the same social status.

At one extreme of this trait of social adequacy is the child who is unpopular, who is avoided, and who sulks and pouts. At the other extreme is the one who is never left alone. He is the leader of the gang. A mean between these two is the normal and desirable place.

Too often, when little children are unsuccessful with the group, the mother's own feelings are hurt. She says, "Never you mind, darling. Don't you care. You just come home and play at home if they don't want you there playing with them." It would be much better if she would first investigate. A boy of five came home one day to his mother with the tale that he had been sent home by two little girls of

four. The mother had the usual formula of "Don't you care, darling; you come and play at home with me and with your little brother."

As it happened, the mother of one of the little girls had seen the performance which was as follows: The little boy had come under the lilac bushes where the two little girls were playing and had said, "Oh, you are playing here under the bushes. Well, we won't play that way. We won't play with the house there. We 'll move it over here." The little girls had resented this interference. He had acted in what the mother of one of the little girls defined as "quite a masculine way" until finally the two little girls had told him to take his hat and coat and go home. This part of the affair he had not told to his mother. If she had found out a little more of what had happened, she might have said to him, "You go back and play with the little girls, and play in such a way that they will like you."

A girl of ten was very unpopular with the children in the neighborhood. Her parents could not understand why. In fact, they did not realize exactly that she was unpopular; they were under the impression that the children were unpopular with her. A little incident will show just what was happening.

The children of the neighborhood had their little wagons in the yard of a neighbor. Mary came over and said, "Now, all you kids get your wagons and get in line. The tallest comes first and so on down to the littlest. But all you kids get your wagons in line now, and I will lead you around the block." Her orders irritated them very much and they told her, in the way that children have, to go home and do her bossing there.

She had gone home and told her parents that she did not like the children on the block and that she wished they would move away. A little investigation would have shown that

there was something wrong in the attitude of that child toward the group. This mother said that she was "training her little girl for leadership," and that she thought perhaps they would move, because the other children did not know leadership when they saw it.

A child of six whose unpopularity with the children in the neighborhood amounted to little less than a tragedy exemplifies this same thing. One day the boys had been throwing rocks at him. When the crowd was dispersed, we persuaded Billy to come over and talk to us.

We asked, "Why are the other children doing that?" He said, "They don't want me to play with them."

When we asked him, "Why don't you go up and play with the children in the next block?" he said, "They don't want me to play with them either."

"Why, then, don't you go on until you find children who do want to play with you?"

His face became quite pale and he said, "Nobody wants to play with me. Nobody in all the world wants to play with me. I don't know why—I don't know why they don't want to play with me, but they don't."

This child was facing quite early a tragic and brutal fact—that his own personality irritated other children to such an extent that they took rather a keen pleasure in being unkind to him. He had been permitted to dominate in his home so greatly that he could not lay aside his necessity for domination elsewhere.

This child, judged from the standpoint of gregariousness, would be marked "Unhappy when alone, extremely fond of companionship, and no resources for amusing himself." From the standpoint of social adequacy he would be marked "Very unpopular, very much avoided."

The job of the human being is to learn to adjust both to the crowd and to himself.

CHAPTER XIX

ATTITUDE TOWARD FACTS AND PROPERTY

TRUTHFULNESS and honesty indicate a socialized attitude toward facts and property.

TRUTHFULNESS

Extreme Group Adjustment		**Extreme Ego Adjustment**
Over - conscientious about the truth. Anxious.	Truthful. Never knowingly distorts facts.	Lying, gross exaggeration. Always blames others for his own failures.

	Extreme			Ideal Average			Extreme
Make Cross	|...|...|...|...|...|...|...|...|...|...|...|...|						
On this line	6	4	2	0	2	4	6

Truthfulness, which is honesty toward facts, must be learned. While a child may not be so truthful as his knowledge of facts would permit, he can certainly not be truthful if he has no knowledge of facts.

Neither this knowledge of facts nor a desire to utilize them is inherited; there is neither "instinctive" honesty nor dishonesty. It is common to say of an individual that he is "fundamentally dishonest," when we mean that at an early age he was not trained in the knowledge and use of property and of property rights.

More children err in the knowledge of what constitutes facts than in the will to abide by them. There are many

facts for the perception of which the child's intelligence is not adequate. There are many, indeed, which are accepted with difficulty by most adults. It is more difficult for a child to be truthful and to comprehend a fact than it is for the adult, not from perverseness but from lack of training and knowledge. And what we are pleased to call facts are often radically changed by the accumulating data of the sciences. All of this material is confusing and often only dimly perceived by the child who is only just getting acquainted with the world.

The child can learn facts only from the adult, and an adult is familiar with several types of them. There are *known* facts, as, for instance, that water drowns, that fire is hot. There is the world of poetic facts, or fancy—fictions which are accepted as facts and yet do not exist. Then there are "facts" that are unanalyzed, as, for instance, certain superstitions which adults entertain unconsciously.

A child of eight, brought up in a family where Dickens was much read, had a very difficult time figuring out who "Mr. Micawber" was. He seemed to be in a book, and consequently unreal; yet so were the army generals, although they were real. She finally decided that he was a relative of some sort because her brother was considered to be like him.

Usually the first two types of facts cause no great confusion in the child's mind, for he is able to sort them out, but the third is a great cause of confusion to him. When an adult knocks on wood in order to counteract the effect of a brag, the child accepts the act as a fact. He later learns that it is a "superstition." But if he sees every adult in his environment knock on wood when he boasts, or says, "I don't believe in knocking on wood when I brag"; if he sees the boast or the statement of welfare always modified in this way, then he must believe to a certain extent that there is something in such a statement that holds a menace.

A group of twenty women of very high intellectual standards were asked whether they knocked on wood when they made a statement with regard to the welfare of someone for whom they cared. Twelve of these women admitted that they did, although they "did not believe in it." Six said they always thought of doing so. Two had no feeling whatsoever with regard to it. The result must be great confusion in the minds of the children under the care of these women, not because there would be any particular harm in having a child knock on wood when he makes an unmodified brag, but because the adults have some feeling with regard to the boast into which he is not initiated.

The child goes through a period in which the enlarging world of facts and the world of fancy are confused in his mind, but even the youngest child, when telling you a made-up fairy tale, will usually smile or have a little knowing expression on his face that indicates to you in the same way that you indicate to him that this is one of those queer things that is not quite real.

The more serious "whopper" is an indication, however, of a different type of difficulty. The child who tells such stories after the age of five or six is usually profoundly dissatisfied with his own social routine. It usually means that he is not finding enough outlets, and so makes up imaginary stories with which to fill his life. A lonely child will invent a playmate or a dog and play imaginary games with him.

A great many adults also tell "whoppers." It is very often true that the parents and the adults in the families of these children are given to elaborating on facts. We say of such adults that they "put their best foot forward," or that they always present facts in the best light, or that they paint a picture in such a way as to keep the interest of the crowd.

In the case of the child who invents experiences, the only

means of cure is to give him real ones about which he can brag honestly. If these are not belittled by adults, he will try to establish himself with the group with these experiences, rather than with wholly imaginative ones.

The problem is still more serious if the child is a little below normal intellectually. This child is naturally inclined to be of a rather highly suggestible type. If he has, also, a tendency to "embroider," then the adults in his environment may be made to bear the unhappy brunt of this. False accusations often occur in such cases. Girls of ten, twelve, thirteen, fourteen, fifteen, and even older, whose sex lives have been absolutely chaste and who have had no sexual experiences, but who have had poor sex instruction or who day-dream more or less, or who dream at night of attacks and of sexual experiences, believe these to be waking experiences, and accuse some man or woman in their environment of an attack or approach of one sort or another.

The method of correcting what seems to be a deviation from the truth is not only to attempt to strengthen the child's moral fiber, but also to attempt to teach him what constitutes the truth, and to give him a fundamentally interesting life so that he will not make an effort to exaggerate in order to amuse himself. Lying, so called, in children should be considered a *misstatement of dimly perceived facts*, plus, often, a necessity for excitement. Children do not learn truthfulness at some great dramatic moment, but day by day in practice, in the small relationships. They must not be judged on a basis of perfection until adolescence is well at an end.

Children should not be made to confess to some act and then be punished for it. If the parents suspect that the child has done something wrong, they should find out from other sources whether or not he has committed the act, and then proceed with the necessary correction. In nearly every case

of misconduct it is possible to ascertain the facts from sources other than the child, and it is unnecessary to force the delinquent to confess to his own misdemeanors.

Parents frequently say, "I told my child that I would n't punish him if he would confess what he had done." It may be well not to punish him by scolding or whipping him, but it is unwise to let him feel that he can escape the responsibility of his acts by merely confessing them. If he has broken a window, injured some property, or taken something that does not belong to him, he should make restitution even though he has confessed.

It makes the matter clearer to transfer it over to the adult field. If someone ran into your automobile, you would expect him to pay for the damage done, even though he confessed that he had done it. The same attitude should be taken toward the child.

Children are often taught by their parents to avoid the consequences of an act by shifting the blame to someone or something else. This is often started by the silly and harmful practice of saying, "Naughty old floor that bumped baby," or "Naughty old chair that hit baby on the head," or "Let 's spank the old floor." To the adult mind this is an amusing thing. To the child's mind, it is entirely misleading.

Mothers sometimes take this attitude to an astonishing degree. One child of our acquaintance, who was, in relation not only to people but also to inanimate objects and situations, a very great coward up to his fifth or six year, had been trained in just that way. His mother had a curious way of stating things: "Do not handle the old stick, dear; it might hurt you," or "Do not handle the tin cans, dear; they might cut you," or "Do not go near the bookcases, dear; they might fall on you," until to the child's mind, the world was full of objects that "did things to him." It was not "Do not pick

up the stick, dear; you might hurt yourself with it," or "Do not pick up the tin cans, dear; you might cut yourself with them," or "Do not go near the bookcases, dear; you might pull them over on yourself." The child was never assumed to be the aggressor. The inanimate object was the aggressor, and the child was surely not responsible for acts committed by these animated inanimate objects.

This boy became an adept at "alibis." He never did anything to anybody; he never did anything to himself. Some other object or some other person always did it. It did not occur to him, until definite training in that line was begun, to consider himself the aggressor in any difficulty that occurred, or to think himself able to defend himself adequately against the "slings and arrows of outrageous fortune."

Adults often think in similar terms. When one injures his thumb with a hammer, he is very likely to throw the hammer at some distance; or if he runs into a chair in the dark, he is sometimes even prone to curse or kick at it. But this type of thinking is certainly not to be cultivated in a child. He should be made to see that the error was on his part, not because he was at fault, but because his activities were involved and because within him lies the solution, provided he has the patience and the capacity to handle it.

Often a child tells falsehoods because life is made too hard for him. Jean was a girl who used to lie constantly to her mother about why she was late from school. She would say she had to help the teacher, or she was kept in, or she had to rehearse for a play, when really she was late because she was playing with her companions. She was an adopted child and the mother was an elderly woman who did not understand children very well. She had carefully calculated the time that it took the child to go to school and the time that it took her to come home, and she was supposed to live up to this schedule. She was not allowed any free time in which to

play; it was all supervised. When the mother found out that the child had prevaricated, she would scold her severely, and the child, being very sensitive, felt this punishment keenly.

Lying was almost inevitable in these circumstances. The mother made two mistakes: In the first place, she did not arrange that the child should have enough free outlets for her play tendencies, and she was too rigid in her standards; and, in the second place, when the child did not live up to these standards, she was much too harsh.

A child who feels that he is going to be scolded and whipped and that he may even lose the love and confidence of his parents is almost inevitably going to lie in order to avoid what is to him such a dreadful penalty.

Parents must be very careful, therefore, not to expect too much of their children, and when they stray from the path of truthfulness, the punishments must not be too severe for their endurance and benefit.

PROPERTY

Extreme Group Adjustment		**Extreme Ego Adjustment**
Foolishly unselfish, sacrificing and self-effacing.	Does not knowingly take other people's things, reasonably generous.	Pilfering; or is absolutely selfish about possessions.

	Extreme			Ideal Average			Extreme
Make Cross	|...|...|...|...|...|...|...|...|...|...|...|						
On this line	6	4	2	0	2	4	6

The attitude toward property, which we call honesty, is also a learned trait. The desirable form would be that a person should not knowingly take other people's properties, and that he should be reasonably generous. At one extreme,

there would be pilfering and selfishness about possessions. At the other, there would be foolish unselfishness, sacrifice and self-effacement.

The learning of property rights is very difficult in our homes as they are arranged at present. Most property in the home is held in common, and is replaced from a common fund.

If a child assumes that conditions are the same outside of the home, the result is fatal. Crimes against property are the commonest of all crimes, and the discrepancy between the organization of the home and the organization of society is certainly one of the things that is greatly responsible for them.

The child must be taught the theory of personal ownership. In order to do this, he must have toys of his own and his own personal toilet articles, and he must be paid for some of his small jobs and purchase some of his own toys. He must be taught, from the beginning, *absolute restraint with regard to the property of other members of the family,* and also in the houses of other people.

Adults who are not members of the family often help to confuse the issue. A child will pick up some little toy or some trinket that has no value, and when the parent tells him not to take it, the other person will say, "He may have that," so that the child does not perceive the line between his possessions and those of another. The child values many things which to the adult seem worthless objects, and the adult often again confuses the issue by destroying things which are valuable to him. He may have a collection of his own which is to the adult of the veriest worthlessness—a few tacks, nails, strings, marbles, and old broken things; but for the child, it marks the beginning of property consciousness; if the adult does not protect his interests and preserve his property, then he cannot be expected to respect those of the adult in return.

The privileges of the youngest child in the house often are confusing in this respect. The baby, because he is the baby, is given almost anything that he wants and if he reaches for the toy of an older child, one of the parents is likely to say, "Oh, give that to the baby; he 's just a baby and he wants it." This attitude is fatal not only in the teaching of property rights to both children, but to the later relationship between the two. Much unhappiness and many unfortunate relationships in the family can be traced to just such early scenes as this.

An argument often brought against this training is that thinking in terms of property may make the child mercenary. This is not true. It does not make him mercenary to know where the line is drawn. It simply makes him careful.

People are often praised for being unusually unselfish. To be called "unselfish to a fault" is supposed to be a compliment. "He would give away the coat off of his back" is another compliment that is of doubtful value, for what is usually not told is that the individual who would give the coat off of his back is more than likely to give away the other fellow's as well, and is very likely to give the coat to someone who does not need it, while some deserving or dependent person is left coatless. Promiscuous giving is just as much a sign of mal-adjustment as promiscuous keeping.

A mother, not long ago, brought a child to us with the complaint that he pilfered. The story was as follows: She had made some cakes for a party which she was giving that afternoon, and after putting them in the refrigerator to allow the icing to harden, had gone down town to make some purchases. The small boy had invited a party of his own, had opened the refrigerator and had served the cakes rather recklessly to his friends. But this should not have been called pilfering. The boy saw cakes being prepared for a party. His mind would not make any very neat distinction between his

mother's party and his party. His fault lay in his not having recognized, rather than in his not having respected, property.

When facts and property are not respected by the child, the adults who have charge of his training are usually to blame. It is very rare to find a dishonest child in a family in which property and facts are absolutely respected.

In attempting to judge any case of pilfering or of disrespect of property or facts, it is impossible to consider the incident alone. You cannot say, "What will I do with dishonesty?" "What will I do with untruthfulness?" The specific incident must be considered from the point of view of the child and in relation to his background and to what he knows of the world of fact and fancy. An effort must be made to see what differentiation he is capable of, and what his type of learning has been in regard to the specific trait under consideration. Then, and not before, the fault may be corrected. Stealing in children may be due to many causes. A boy of six stole a wagon at one time, at another time a knife, and at another a ball. This child came from a poverty-stricken home; the mother was dead and the father struggling to keep the family together. The housekeeping was carried on by a fourteen-year-old girl. There were no comforts in the home, and most of the necessities were lacking. This little boy of six had no playthings. He had no wagon, no ball, and no knife. In order to get playthings, he stole them.

Some people might say that the child should have had enough moral stamina to resist the temptation, even though he had no toys. This might be true in the case of an adult, but a six-year-old child has had little training in property rights in even the best homes, and this boy, who had in addition been deprived of the playthings of a normal child, could not be expected to resist the temptation to take things. The remedy here was to give him the proper training, and also to

provide playthings and the outlets and home life suitable to his age.

A boy of seven stole ten dollars from his aunt, and treated the boys of the neighborhood to candy and took them to a movie. An analysis of this case showed that this boy had come to town only three months before from the country. He had been very happy and popular there, but when he came to town, he did not seem to be able to make friends. He was lonely and unhappy and unable to find suitable playmates. The boys were cruder and rougher than he, and they bullied and teased him. He desperately wanted and needed companionship. In order to gain this, he stole money with which to buy popularity.

This boy needed not only training in property rights and strengthening of his moral fiber, but at the same time he needed to be placed in a situation where he could have playmates and a normal life for growth.

Another type of stealing was exemplified by a boy of ten, an only child. The father had died when the boy was a baby, and the mother had dedicated her whole life to this child. Whenever he did something that the school objected to, she made excuses for him. She would believe no wrong of him. The boy was allowed to develop his selfish impulses at the expense of other people. He received very little training in group adjustment, and he usually got what he wanted in one way or another. When he was a small child, he would take pennies from his mother's purse when he wanted them. She never corrected him for this, or if she did correct him, she did it in such a futile way that it had no effect. As a result of this treatment, the boy at the age of ten was totally untrained in property rights.

One day in school he saw a bicycle that he wanted, and since his mother could not afford to buy him one, he stole it. The stealing in this case was due entirely to the fact that the

mother had not trained this boy to respect property rights and to adjust himself to other people in a normal, healthy way.

These three cases show that stealing may be due to various causes, and we must find the cause before we can apply the appropriate treatment.

A mother found three packages of flower seeds in the pocket of her six-year-old boy. On being questioned, Charles said he had found them, but investigation showed that he had stolen them from the corner drug store. The mother made him take the seeds back to the drug store and confess his wrong-doing, and she gave him fifteen cents with which to pay for the seeds. In order to make him realize his wrong-doing, she took away his weekly allowance of six cents for two and a half weeks.

During the second week, one of the boys in the neighborhood gave a circus at which a penny admission was charged. All the boys were going, and of course Charles wanted to go too, but he had no money. His mother was away during the afternoon, and he looked into her purse; finding no money in it, he manipulated the box for church savings until he shook out two pennies, and he and a companion went to the circus. When the mother found out what he had done, she gave him a whipping. The boy continued to pilfer small things, and finally the mother asked for advice. An effort was made to find out just why he had stolen the seeds in the first place.

William, the older brother of Charles, was his mother's favorite. In his class at school they had started a garden. The mother had praised William's activity in this project very highly and had talked of it to some neighboring boys in Charles' presence. Charles wanted very much to have a garden of his own, and so he had stolen the seeds from the drug store with the intention of planting them in a vacant lot nearby. Dimly he hoped to win his mother's praise and

love as William had done, but the seeds were discovered before he was able to start his garden.

An understanding of the case showed, not a boy developing criminal tendencies and careless of social approval, but one starved of the love and approval to which he was entitled. The mother's favoritism was the thing that needed modification. In handling the immediate situation the mother should have explained to him that it was wrong to steal the seeds, but that it was all right to want them, and that if he had asked her for them, she would have bought them for him. She should have made him, as she did, go back to the store, confess his wrong-doing, and pay for the seeds; but she should have taken away only a part of his allowance until the seeds were paid for. Charles would then have been left with some money for the circus.

We must always put ourselves in the place of the child in judging his acts. We must see through the child's eyes, and get his viewpoint. It certainly was too much to expect a six-year-old child to have the moral fiber to resist the temptation to take a penny in order to go to a neighborhood circus. He should never have been exposed to such a temptation.

Both in respect to facts and property, we may not expect "one hundred per cent perfection" while the child is learning. It is only by actual practice that he has any opportunity to learn. There are no "natural tendencies" whatsoever in this respect, except that he has a natural tendency to wish to have that which gives him pleasure, and it is this thing which so often seems to us like total depravity in a child reared in an otherwise healthy environment.

CHAPTER XX

MOOD, EMOTION, AND ATTENTION[1]

Mood-Type

Usually pessimistic, worried, depressed, anxious, agitated.	Cheerful, confident, optimistic, active.	Always sure everything is for the best. Unquestioning. Never thinks of future.

Make Cross	Extreme		Ideal Average			Extreme	
On this line	6	4	2	0	2	4	6

Mood may be described as the feeling with which a person reacts to life. It is usually taken for granted that a happy mood is our "natural state," which is taken from us at intervals by unpleasant turns of fate; that our mood is like a rubber band—release us from cares and anxieties and it will fly back into a state of happiness.

It is much more exact to say that our normal mood is one of anxiety, because we are continually concerned with the necessity for group adjustment and happiness, which is possible only when we have learned how to establish and maintain our sense of security. Happiness, or a pleasant mood, may to this extent be said to be a learned or cultivated state.

If this is true, then it is essential that a child be trained definitely in the habit of happiness or, to express it differently, trained in a habitual feeling of contentment and security. The determining factors in such training are the

[1] In Mood, Emotion, and Attention the two extremes cannot be judged as Extreme Group or Ego Adjustments.

mood of the adult with whom the child is associated, and the system and type of discipline used in the child's training.

Many adults who actually do feel secure and contented have established a habit of appearing otherwise. Breakfast, for instance, may be ever so pleasant—the toast good, the bacon crisp, the marmalade sweet—but none of these things will be mentioned; only the fact that the coffee is not up to standard will be commented on. This is more, much more, than bad general policy and doubtful manners! To the child undergoing his "training in security," it is very destructive. In a discouraging number of households the custom of commenting on the *unpleasant occurrences only* is extremely common. Extreme anxiety and fear on the part of a child of three or four can often be traced to this attitude, or to unevenness and inconsistency of discipline.

Whether a child is cheerful and happy, or anxious and timid, depends largely on his training. It is often stated that food will not digest during a condition of anger or fear. It is equally important to remember that neither can ideas be assimilated at such times. Anger, fear, depression, anxiety, agitation, pessimism, and worry are all varying states of closely related feeling tones. A child, for his best development, must be cheerful, confident, optimistic, and active; otherwise his capacity for learning is blocked.

There is, of course, another extreme almost as destructive, and often cultivated—the habit of unquestioning acceptance in the belief that "everything is for the best." It precludes the careful planning and cool judgment necessary for success. To accept the present without question is usually to accept the future without preparation and meet it without foresight. This extreme optimism is rare in people of good intelligence. When it is present in such people, it is usually due to a fear to face either the present or the future, or to examine the past.

MOOD-STABILITY

Changeable, alternating between extremes of type.	No great swings of mood, normally up and down in response to stimuli.	Unresponsive to ordinary situation, inert, unchanging.

	Extreme			Ideal Average			Extreme
Make Cross	|...|...|...|...|...|...|...|...|...|...|...|						
On this line	6	4	2	0	2	4	6

There are two phases to be considered in the study of mood—the type and its stability. Ideally, a person's mood should not only be pleasant, but it should remain pleasant most of the time. There should be no great swings of mood—up one minute, down the next, although it will of course normally change in response to changing situations. But these swings should not be excessive.

Gay, happy, excited, elated intervals, with corresponding moods of indifference, irritation, and temper, are to be avoided in a child even if, in order to do so, it is necessary to change the entire family routine. Sometimes one single adult member of the family is responsible for much of this; sometimes it is the type of discipline, but whatever the cause, it is essential that the remedy be radical enough to be entirely effective. These swings of mood are normal under some conditions. We all, for instance, are likely to do things at picnics that seem "silly" in retrospect. But marked emotional swings, even in such occasions, should have close analysis and should be carefully kept in hand. It is difficult to detect them in one's self and they are easily thought of as only brilliance and wit.

Sometimes two types of mood are combined in the same person. At one time he will be happy, excited, and over-

active; at another, depressed, grouchy, and inactive. Sometimes these swings of mood may occur in a day. Sometimes one mood persists for months or even years.

The "manic" type is illustrated by the talkative, excitable, over-active individual who is always under a great pressure to do something. A teacher of this type usually makes the children very nervous and irritable, because she is never calm, and her constant pressure of activity puts the children on edge. Occasionally such a person is a principal of a school and when this occurs, the teaching staff, as well as the children, are nervous and excitable and irritable. An adult with this tendency is destructive to children in his immediate care, as they are likely to be suppressed, and shoved into the background, and the discipline of such a person is likely to be erratic. As a parent, he fails to build up in the child a feeling of security. The constant change of mood leaves the child bewildered, puzzled, and anxious. Anxiety states in children are often caused by moody parents.

The other extreme of stability of mood is rare. Few children are unresponsive, inert, and unchanging. But occasionally, a child whose environment is continuously overstimulating will become unresponsive, because otherwise he could not endure his treatment. It is a mechanism developed by the individual for his own protection. Over-ambitious parents, vain of the child's capacity, or noisy, over-active family life is usually at the base of this.

Charming and brilliant parents often wonder why their children become morose, irritable, or dreamy. The cause lies in the parents' behavior. The remedy is not, as is usually believed, more and stronger stimulation. It is quiet and repose. It is to place the child with calm people who will not attempt to stimulate him. A complete change of environment for a fairly long interval is usually advisable. A summer camp or a school, even for a young child, is better

than to have him remain in the disturbing environment. Camp in the country or a few months on a farm is the ideal type of treatment.

Emotional Response Type[1]

Extremely easy to excite or upset or depress. "Quick on the trigger."	Normally responsive, but does not take things too much to heart.	Slow to respond. Very hard to excite, anger, or depress.

	Extreme			Ideal Average			Extreme
Make Cross	|...|...|...|...|...|...|...|...|...|...|...|...|...|						
On this line	6	4	2	0	2	4	6

The directing of the child's occupational education should depend greatly on the type of emotional response which is habitual for him. This, in turn, is much modified by early training, although emotional response depends more than most of the traits that have been discussed on the inherent nervous structure.

The person who is just "normally responsive" in situations involving the love life, the ego, and the ordinary situations of life is rare. It is very hard to strike an average. One is either extremely easy to excite or upset—"too quick on the trigger"—or he is slow to respond and unduly hard to arouse to anger—what we call "slow on the uptake."

Unfortunately, the fact that a child is easy to excite and stimulate is often taken as a sign of intelligence, but real capacity does not necessarily accompany it, and, worse still, to encourage it is often to develop the reaction known as

[1] Emotional Type and Stability are being intensively studied by Dr. Karl S. Lashley (University of Minnesota) at whose suggestion they were inserted in the chart.

"flighty," a type of reaction which is very destructive to learning.

EMOTIONAL STABILITY

Emotions very transient; "forgives" quickly, remembers neither good nor bad.	Does not hold grudges unduly, gets over anger, joy, excitement, when cause is passed.	Remains depressed or angry or excited for a long time, harbors grudges, etc.

	Extreme			Ideal Average			Extreme
Make Cross	|...|...|...|...|...|...|...|...|...|...|...|...|...|						
On this line	6	4	2	0	2	4	6

The stability of emotional response is also an important factor. Some people, especially children, have extremely transient emotions. They remember neither the good nor the bad that is done to them. These people turn a very vulnerable surface to life. They seem to lack the capacity to evaluate the acts of others, and this must be taught them if they are to float successfully in the social group.

On the other hand, there is no trait more destructive to successful social contact than that of harboring grudges, and for successful adjustment it is essential that people learn to get over not only anger, but also the pleasant forms of excitement, when the occasion has passed.

ATTENTION-TYPE

Flighty, distractible, unable to keep at the thing at hand.	Attention fixed on thing at hand, but normally distractible.	Attention turned in, or day-dreams, stares, or can't be got off the thing at hand.

	Extreme			Ideal Average			Extreme
Make Cross	|...|...|...|...|...|...|...|...|...|...|...|...|...|						
On this line	6	4	2	0	2	4	6

It is, of course, desirable that a person be able to fix his attention on the thing at hand, but at the same time he must have a certain capacity for perceiving what goes on around him. This is desirable both from the point of view of his security and of his learning capacity.

It is axiomatic that we perceive many things that we are unconscious, or dimly conscious, of perceiving. The clock has struck the hour. We have not noticed it. Later we stop working or reading and wonder what time it is, and recall not only that the clock has struck but also the number of its strokes. This has been perceived on the margin of our attention.

There is seen, occasionally, a defective type of attention in which little seems to be observed on the margin. This defect, of course, cuts down the total learning capacity of the child. If any degree of poor intelligence is also present, training is very difficult. The person whose attention is turned in, or who day-dreams to a great extent, should be helped to find either more satisfactory emotional outlets or a better method of making use of those that he has. Children and adolescents who behave in this way are often considered "lazy." It is safer to assume that there is no such thing as "laziness." Either the person's capacity is not equal to the task which has been given him, or his environment is wrong.

The commoner extreme of this trait is flightiness, distractibility, and an inability to keep at the thing at hand. This may be due to either an intellectual or an emotional lack. It is present quite often in children of poor intelligence, but it is very common, also, where the intelligence is very good indeed. It is one of the qualities of the manic type of emotional mal-adjustments, in which the person labors under a terrific emotional pressure from within. This is also often mistaken for brilliance, because there is usually a superficial facility with words. People with this trait are constantly

being reminded of something else, something in the past or the future, while the thing at hand suffers.

ATTENTION-INTENSITY

Attention at highest point, feverish attention, interest extreme.	Interested but able and willing to let go for fresh experience.	Bored, indifferent, blasé, "satiated."

	Extreme			Ideal Average			Extreme
Make Cross	|...|...|...|...|...|...|...|...|...|...|...|...|						
On this line	6	4	2	·0	2	4	6

Attention must be considered from the point of view of its intensity as well as its type. While a child should be interested in the thing at hand, he should also be able to let it go for fresh experience. Feverish attention is an "excess" trait. It is a common variety of so-called "nervousness." It is often considered amusing in young children. It is very common in adolescence, at which stage it is indeed virtually the normal type of behavior. Adolescence is a period in which one never "likes" but always "loves" or "hates." But this attitude should not be encouraged in children, and in excess it is more or less morbid in adults.

The bored, on the other hand, the blasé—"satiated"—are usually those who are over-stimulated and over-corrected, and who have grown a thick shell; or they are the timid and the fearful who in this way gain time and spare themselves from the necessity for quick, clear-cut response. This is one of the great "camouflage" traits. It is rarely what it seems. And the intelligent, sympathetic parent will be quick to study it from this angle and attempt to modify the underlying cause rather than the superficial behavior.

When all the traits have been studied which are summarized on the chart given below, make your final decision in regard to them. If a record of more than one child is kept, use pencils of different color, and in the space at the bottom record the name of the child and the *date of rating*.

	6	4	2	—0+	2	4	6
I. Aggressiveness							
II. Self-Confidence							
III. Suggestibility							
IV. Demonstrativeness							
V. Gregariousness							
VI. Social Adequacy							
VII. Attitude Toward Facts							
VIII. Attitude Toward Property							
IX. Mood, Type							
X. Mood, Stability							
XI. Emotional Response							
XII. Emotional Stability							
XIII. Attention, Type							
XIV. Attention, Intensity							

At the end of a year, or of any period of training, re-rate the child and compare the two records.

CHAPTER XXI

THE PERSONALITY STUDY

After the sections on the Trait-Rating Chart have been read and the chart filled in, the personality study should be undertaken. This outline has been specially arranged for the use of persons studying so-called "normal" people. It has been used in universities for the student's study of himself, for psychiatric social workers, and for speech hygienists. Before the parent undertakes the personality study of the child, he should write one of himself. For this reason some of the facts sought are applicable only to adults.

Do not answer the questions with "yes" or "no", but write well-rounded paragraphs. The outline is a skeleton, and should not show through the completed history. If there are other headings that you wish to include, do so, but do not change the order of those in the existing outline.

Divide the History according to the Roman numerals, as follows:

I. General description of child

No effort should be made to compose a "literary" picture of the person, but a strange person reading the case history should be able to form a fair picture of the person's looks and superficial behavior.

A. *Behavior:*

1. Activity. Active—controlled; active—uncontrolled; apathetic—inert.

2. Posture.
3. Gait.
4. Facial tensions and expression.
5. Habit movements.
6. Cleanliness, orderliness.

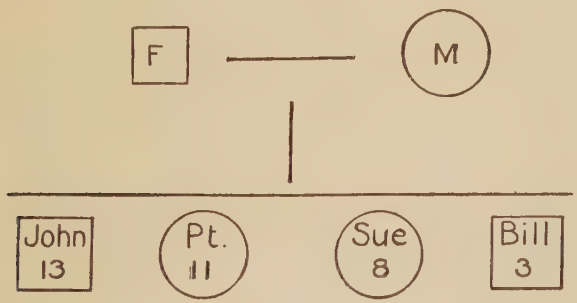
B. *Physique*:

1. Apparent health.
2. General nutrition.
3. Height—weight.
4. Size and shape of:
   a. Ears.
   b. Eyes.
   c. Jaws.
5. Color and texture of:
   a. Hair (coarse or fine).
   b. Skin.
6. Deformities.

II. FAMILY HISTORY:

In order to get a good picture of an individual, it is necessary to know a great deal about the people whose blood he inherits and the people who reared him.

Make a chart showing the child's age and position in the family; as, for example:



Be sure all points are covered in regard to each of the following:

1. Father.
2. Mother.
3. Brothers and sisters.
4. Grandparents, aunts, uncles, cousins.
5. Foster-parents, brothers, and sisters—if such exist.

A. *Medical History* (of family):

1. General health, or age at and cause of death.
2. Nervous breakdowns.
3. Insanity.
4. Epilepsy.
5. Alcoholism.
6. Serious or prolonged illnesses.

B. *Social History* (of family):

1. Occupation—type, success.
2. Economic status.
3. Social status.
4. Social adaptability.
5. Education.
6. Income—rough estimate.
7. Dual language.
8. Attitude of family toward marriage and children.
9. Attitude of family toward patient.

C. *Speech History* (of family):

1. Type of speech.
2. Singing ability.
3. Any peculiarity of speech, as, quick, slow, indistinct, stuttering.
4. Any peculiarity of voice, as, high-pitched, guttural, falsetto.

D. *Temperamental Trends* (of family):

1. Moods—ups and downs.
2. Quick or slow to anger.
3. Restless or contented type.
4. General vigor and push.

III. MEDICAL HISTORY (OF CHILD):

A. *Parents at Child's Birth:*
1. Age.
2. Health.
3. Economic conditions.

B. *Child's Birth:*
1. Prolonged delivery.
2. Surgical interference.
3. Condition of infant.

C. *Illnesses:*
1. Rickets.
2. Whooping cough.
3. Meningitis.
4. Encephalitis.
5. Fits.
6. Epilepsy.
7. Accidents.
8. Record any other illnesses.

IV. DEVELOPMENTAL HISTORY (OF CHILD):

A. *Nutritional:*
1. Breast-fed or bottle-fed.
2. Attitude toward food.
(Give average day's menu of food *actually* eaten.)
a. Finicky? (or)
b. Broad diet?
c. Thumb-sucking.

B. *Growth:*
1. Rate.

C. *Sleep:*
1. Type.
2. Amount.
3. Sleeping arrangements in early youth.

D. *Family Type or Resemblance:*

V. SENSORY AND KINESTHETIC HISTORY (OF CHILD):

A. *Walking:*
1. Crawling stage present and active.
2. Age at which begun.

B. *Talking:*
1. Was the babble stage present and adequate?
2. Age at which speech began.
3. Skill and adequacy of voluntary speech.

C. *Handedness:* (right or left):
(Efforts at changing use of left hand.)

D. *Vision:*

E. *Hearing:*

VI. PSYCHOLOGICAL HISTORY (OF CHILD):

A. *General Reactions:*
1. Aggressiveness—anger—fear.
   a. Retiring? Timid?
   b. Afraid of the dark?
   c. Bold—overbold?
   d. Quarrelsome?
   e. Anger; normal—abnormal.
      (1) Amount: quick, slow, controlled?
      (2) Occasions when it is called forth.
   f. Ticklish?
   g. Presence of night terrors? Nightmares?
   h. Special fears or phobias.
   i. Preference for some special person or persons.
2. Curiosity:
   Constructive or destructive.
3. Disgust:
   Infantile or adult.
4. Energy Output:
   Under or over normal?

5. Patient's estimate of self.
6. Examiner's estimate of patient.
7. Type of imagination:
   Day-dreaming. Intellectual trends. Interests.
8. Ideals.
9. Special talents or capacities.

B. *Reproductive Life:*
1. Sleeping arrangements in youth.
2. Reactions to first school days.
3. Presence or absence of love affairs in childhood or adolescence. Discuss fully the love life, whether patient was interested in the opposite sex during childhood; and in the case of older people, tell whether they have been engaged or not, married, happily or unhappily, and their attitude toward children.

C. *Group Life:*
1. Reactions to religious impression.
2. Social life.
3. Patient's attitude towards the world.
   a. Selection of intimates.
   b. Assumption of toughness or delicacy.
   c. Capacity for making friends.
   d. Demonstrative or undemonstrative.
   e. Feeling of inferiority and inadequacy.
   f. Special behavior difficulties.
   g. Suggestive, definite or fixed in opinions.

D. *Social History:*
1. Pre-school training:
   a. Attitude of family toward marriage and children.
   b. Type of home—social status.
   c. Dual language?
   d. Craft work—school and kindergarten.
   e. Association with sisters and parents, nurses, other adults.
   f. Discipline. Give typical example of home discipline.
      (1) Presence of temper.

(2) Obedient—disobedient.

2. School life:
   a. Relation to teachers.
   b. Strong likes and dislikes.
   c. Progress in school.
   d. Years in school.
   e. Promotions.
   f. Capacity or incapacity in certain studies.
3. Extra-school Activities:
   a. Amount and type.
      (1) Arts.
      (2) Crafts.
      (3) Commerce.
      (4) Athletics.
4. Hobbies.
5. Occupations: (Success in work or profession, salary, etc.)

VII. EDUCATION (OF CHILD):
(Especially for older children)

A. *Type:*

B. *Amount:*

C. *Years in School:*

D. *Special Capacities:*

E. *Special Disabilities:*

INDEX

adopted child: 157; the illegitimate, 158; and information about adoption, 158; and race consciousness, 158
adequacy, social, 261
age of playmates, 126
aggressiveness: 242, 247; and bullying, 248; of great leaders, 248
"alibi artist," the, 270
anxiety states and sex tension, 149
attention: 279; intensity of, 286
attention-type, 284
authority: acceptance of, 250; and adjustment, 166; and repression, 167
automobile as source of strain, 127-128

babies, grown-up, 178
backwardness and malnutrition, 233
behavior: standards of, 271;—difficulties and intelligence, 229;—patterns at birth, 14
bedtime, strictness in regard to, 74
birth cry, 94
birth to five, importance of years from, 183
bladder in early infancy, 58
blasé child, the, 286
boys and home responsibility, 173

capacities of man, unlimited, 30
car rides, 127
character determiners, smallness of, 6
chart, the trait, 241, 287
child: the "only," 175; the "practice," 177; the unpopular, 265
child calendar, the, 125
child guidance, 3, 7
child study, necessity of, 4-5
child training and instincts, 15-16
Child, The Tired, Max Seham, 69
children, nerve-strain and, 130
children's tabus, 187
Christmas: 130; excitement of, 131; grand parents and, 132; house guests at, 134; "nervous breakdowns" at, 132; parties, 133; presents, 131; rules, 132; and Santa Claus, 131; and stuttering, 132
Cinderella, 162
coddling, social, 263
colors, matching of, 80
conditioned response, 20-22; chain of, 23; and emotional tone, 21; and habit systems, 22; and nervous system, 22; and training, 21; usually left to chance, 22
confession and punishment, 269
crawling: as training for walking, 92; and clothing, 92
cruelty in children, 149
curiosity, constructive, 139

Davis, Dr. Katherine Bement, 130
day-dreaming, 259
death: false knowledge of, 159; inadequate knowledge of, 159; the mystery of, 158; the philosophy of, 160

demonstrativeness: 254; excessive, 255; normal, 254
depressions of adolescence, 197
development of child: in adult rooms, 113; and furniture, 114; and rate of living, 115
diary, the day-by-day, 240
Dickinson, Dr. Robt. L., 151
diet: customs of modified adult stage of, 33; infantile stage, 32; intermediate stage, 32; modified adult stage, 33; peculiarities of, 33; weaning stages, 33
diet stages, reflex activities of, 34
discipline: 182; definition of, 182; a program for, 208; and conscience, 205; and food peculiarities, 49; and group security, 187; and "I told you so," 203; and mixed motives, 203; and maturation, 210; and nervousness, 214; and prevention, 206; and repentance, 205; and threats, 204
dishonesty "fundamental," 266
dog, Pavlov's experiments on, 20
domination by infantile methods, 178
dull child, the, and environment, 231
dreams, 76
dressing, 172

eating: at family table, 52; at separate table, 53; regularity of, 37
ear training, and speech, 81
education: beginning of, 6; and commonplace things, 9
ego-group adjustment, 242
emotion, 279
emotional development, 142
emotional response type, 283
emotional stability, 284
emotions and instincts, 14
enuresis: nocturnal, 58; and daily routine, 60; and diet, 60; and excitement, 59; and illness, 60; and intelligence, 66; and masturbation, 61, 64; and negativism, 63; and nervous system, 59; and physical examination, 61; and reward, 65; and rubber bloomers, 66; and sex information, 61; and suggestion, 65; and tension, 60; and temper, 62
environment: 16; complexity of, 18; diversity of types, 17; for dull child, 233; modifiable, 17; neighbors part of, 18; other children part of, 18; parents a part of, 17; self a part of, 18; servants, part of, 18; subtle influence of, 7; and dull child, 231; and visitors, 18-19
excretory functions: 56; socializing of, 56; and record keeping, 56; and sense of shame, 58

facts: analyzed, 267; attitude toward "unpleasant," 163; parents attitude toward, 161; and superstitions, 267; and truthfulness, 267
fairy stories, 162
falls, effect of, 239
false accusation, 269
family: weaning from the, 261; and the group, 260
family guidance, 7
family romance, the, 157
family routine and nervousness, 216
family tree, importance of, 10
feeding: and the gagging reflexes, 36; and play, 38; and quiet, 38; and state of food, 39
feeding of strange foods, 39
feeding response and temperament, 31

"fixations" in emotional life, 143
folk tales, 162
fondling, excessive, 255
food: dawdling over, 44-45; eating too small amounts of, 46; finickiness about, 48; habitual refusal of, 40; refusal of, 34, 43; refusal of, and attitude of parent, 44; refusal of certain articles of, 48
food anxiety states, 34
food dislikes and erroneous ideas, 40
food peculiarities: and imitation, 41; and discipline, 49; and domination of parents, 42
friends, the selection of, 177

giving, promiscuous, 274
gregariousness: 254, 257; extreme, 257; normal, 257; unsuccessful, 258
group: learning to adjust to the, 164; and the family, 260
group adjustment: and dominance of parents, 171; and other children, 175; and property 169-170; and responsibility, 169; and servants, 171; and speech, 169
group-ego: 164; adjustment, 242
group security & discipline, 137
ghosts and ghouls, 162

habit formation, 183
habit replacement, 182
habits, replacement of, 192
habitual type of response, 183
happiness, a cultivated state, 279
heredity: as determining behavior, 10-12; problem of eugenist, 17
heterosexuality, 143
holiday: daily for mothers, 7; yearly for mothers, 7
holidays, arrangement of, 125
honesty: defined, 272; "instinctive," 266; and perfection, 278
human being, problem of mental hygienist, 17
human infant, and adaptive capacity, 27
humility, 243

illness: 137; and discipline, 137; and routine, 137
indifference in children, 256
inertia, 282
infancy, dominance of, 164
infantile domination, 178
infants, reaction of to taking breast, 31
inferior child, a mental hygiene problem, 231
informal education, philosophy of, 3
inheritance: of mental traits, 13; and nervousness, 212
innocence of childhood, 139
instincts: compulsive element of, 16; various lists of, 14; and child training, 15-16; and emotions, 14
instinctive patterns: in animals, 15; and speech, 16
intelligence: 225; and behavior difficulties, 229
intelligence tests: 225; and "skipping," 227; understanding of, 226

James, William, 14
jealousy, of other children, 174
Jennings, Dr. H. S., 10

knocking on wood, 267

language, first, 98
learning: the nervous system and,

12; muscle-tensions and, 26; through success, 176; to adjust to the group, 164, 169; to eat, 31; to eat and social customs, 54; to eat, three stages of, 32; to sleep, 68; to talk, 94; to walk, 88
Lippman, Dr. H. S., 43
living quarters and nervousness, 214
love and obligation, 261
lying, in children, 269

man, instinctive patterms of, 15
masturbation: age of beginning, 151; incidence of, 151; misinformation about, 152; process of, 88; and erotic day-dreams, 151; and feeble-mindedness, 151; and infantilism, 150; and insanity, 151; and mental degeneracy, 151; and nervous breakdown, 151; and tabu, 150; and tension, 153; and threats, 155
mendelian laws, as applied to behavior, 12
mental health, defined, 8-9
mental-hygiene, and fear, 28
mental traits and attributes, inheritance of, 13
modesty: the development of, 155; and mutual inspection, 157
Mondays, 128
mood: 279; manic type, 282; unresponsive type of, 282; and anxiety, 279; and breakfast, 280; and optimism, 280; and polyannaism, 280
mood-stability, 281
moral behavior, 165
mothers, the opportunities of, 174
mother's anxiety, and faulty nursing, 31
movies: 128; the "comic," 129; sex pictures, 129; and eye strain, 128
muscle movement: inhibition of, 83; learning of, 83
muscle-tensions: learning through, 26; learning and tabu, 29; and fear states, 26; and mental hygiene, 28; and mimetic capacity, 261
mutual inspection of children, 157
mysteries, the, 139
mysteries, natural facts as, 160
mystery, Santa Claus a, 161

nap: 75; discussion of failure to take, 76; over-anxiety for, 75; parents helplessness about, 75; substitutes for, 75; Sunday afternoon, 127
natural facts, as mysteries, 160
negative commands, 167
negative stage, 252
negative suggestible, 250
negative suggestible parents, 251
negativeness: due to "smothering," 252; and strength of character, 253
nervousness: defined, 212; in winter, 213; study of, 224; and competitive living, 216; and discipline, 214, 218; and disease, 217; and family routine, 216; and inheritance, 212; and living quarters, 214; and nagging, 220; and parental thoughtlessness, 215; and physical condition, 213; and playmates, 215; and pressure, 214; and the school, 216
nervous speech difficulties, 224
nervous system, and learning, 12
night-terrors, 149
nursery: the, 113; equipment of, 118; in England, 120; interior decoration of, 118; outdoor,

121; and the bathroom, 124; and no nurse, 121; and pets, 123; and phonograph, 119; obedience: absolute, 184; and social customs, 186; and tabu, 186

Original endowment, 10-31
ownership, the theory of personal, 273

pain *vs.* pleasure, 192
parent: the, as a person, 180; emotional life of, 261
parental adjustment to life, 181
parental authority, 209
parental responsibility, 8
parents: difficulty of job of, 7; moody, 255; unfulfilled, 255; unhappy, 255
parties: Christmas, 133; and refreshments, 129-130
party: the child's, 129; the mother's, 135
personality: of parent, 180; study, 240, 288-295
physical condition and nervousness, 213
physical hygiene and group adjustment, 168
physical and psychological habits, 113
philosophy of life, 160
"phonics" and speech, 103
picnics: all day, 135; family, 135
Pierson, Dr. Henry H., 151
pilfering, 274
playmate, the imaginary, 268
playmates and nervousness, 215
play yard, 121
praise for child, 245
pressure and nervousness, 214
print fetish, 258
property: attitude toward, 272; crimes against, 273; and mercenary tendencies, 274; respect for child's, 273
property rights: the learning of, 273; and the baby, 274
procreation, male part in, 145
punishment: 192; acute-psychological, 196; at the table, 209; for bad behavior, 202; combination of types, 197; excessive, 198; lack of, 188; not for revenge, 193; physical, ages for, 195; physical, types of, 194; prevention of necessity for, 209; prolonged-psychological, 196; restraint as, 206; "talking things over" as, 199; termination of, 200; the "practice blow" in, 194; threatened, 193; to fit the "criminal," 200; whipping as, 195; and the adult ego, 202; and pain, 192

rainy days, 137
rating, method of, 241
reconditioning: the response, 24; Watson's example of, 24-25; and talking to, 25; and will power, 25
record, the written: 237; not for publication, 239; value of, 237
reflex, simple, 20
regurgitation of new food, 36
responsibility, training in, 271
reward: approval of group as, 190; paying money as, 189; privileges as, 190; self-approval as, 192; the use of charts for, 191; misbehaving and, 191
rewards: 188; types of, 188
routine, breaks in, 125

Santa Claus, 162
Saturdays, 126
school and nervousness, 216

seclusiveness and maladjustment, 257
self-assertion, 165
self-confidence, 242, 243
sensitiveness of adolescence, 246
sex: in infancy, 140; knowledge, 140; sublimation, 141
sex information: attitude of giver of, 146; age for receiving, 144; incomplete, 145; the giver of, 145; the giving of, 143; and botany, 146; and a new baby, 147; and pets, 147; and religious instruction, 146; and sleeping arrangements, 148; and the neighbors, 145
sex-misinformation: 145; and nervous breakdown, 145
sex tension: expressions of, 149; hygiene of, 149; and playmates, 149
Seham, Dr. Max, 69, 221
sense of touch, 83
sensory training: 79; and adult prohibition, 86; and blights, 86; and care of person, 85; and normal development, 79; and toys, 84
simple reflex, 20
skin sensations, 82
skipping a grade, 230
sleep: active rather than passive, 68; adult attitude toward, 70; children's difficulties of, 70; conditions for, 72; indigestible food and, 71; individual differences in, 73; other activities of, 76; past experience and, 71; pride in poor, 71; a protective mechanism, 69; quiet and, 74; soundness of, 70; and sex information, 72; and waking outlets, 78
sleeping arrangements, 148
sleeping schedule, 69
sleeping hours of human infant, 68
sleeping with opposite sex, 72
smell, sense of, 82
social adequacy: 254, 260, 261; and intelligence, 262; and training, 262
social coddling, 263
social groups, desirable, 263
spending the day, 125
speech: babbling stage, 95; correct ages for development of, 98; correct ages for development of, 98; delayed, 97, 103, 105; delayed, and emotions, 106; delayed and malnutrition, 106; delayed, and mental development, 105; delayed, and negativism, 98; disorders of, 105; early training for, 97; early, and emotional life, 94; early, and intellectual life, 94; ecolalic period, 96; lack of necessity for, 105; learning, and English sounds, 103; nervous difficulties in, 224; oral inactivity, 106; poor, and teeth, 107; sounds in babbling, 95; sounds in early cries, 95; and identification of pictures, 101; and identification vocabulary of young dog, 99; and letter-sound substitution, 106
stuttering: in boys and girls, 108; incidence of, 108; "overcoming," 108; treatment of, 110; and college students, 108; and fear, 109; and inheritance, 109; and phonetic drill, 110; and stammering, 107; and temperament, 109
suggestibility, 242, 249
suggestible, negative, 250
"Suggestions of Modern Science Concerning Education," 30
Sundays, 126

Sunday-school, 197
superior children and tests, 228, 229

table manners, 53
tabus of children, 187
tasks: multiplicity of, 183; suitability of, 183
tastes, 172
teasing: 179; and "sense of humor," 179
tension, and masturbation, 153
tests: limitations of, 227; perfection of, 227; vocational, 227; and superior children, 228
thumb-sucking: 35; as reflex, 35; and diet, 35; and metabolism, 35; and mechanical restraint, 36
theatre, the, 129
Thorndike, Dr. Edward L., 102
timidity: 244; lack of, 244
"tone deafness," 81
touch, sense of, 83
toys, and sensory training, 84
trait, "camouflage," 243
trait chart, the, 241
traits, over-compensation for, 249
training equipment, 122
training, for dull child, 233
trial method of learning, 184
truthfulness, 266

unpopularity, 261
unselfishness, 274
unwholesome habits, 150
urge to "keep going," the, 17

vacations: away from parents, 136; for the child, 136; place for, 136
vision, first stimulation of, 80
visitors, 134

walking: blights of, 91; correct shoes for, 89; delayed, and poor intelligence, 90; good conditions for, 91; necessities for, 89; slick floors and, 89; ways of stimulating, 90; and an objective, 90
Watson, John B., 14
weather, attitude toward, 137
"whopper," the, 268